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Official Records

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New York

President: Mr. Essy . . . . . (Côte d'Ivoire)

The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

Address by Mr. Heydar Alirza ogly Aliyev, President of the Azerbaijani Republic

The President *(interpretation from French)*: The Assembly will first hear an address by the President of the Azerbaijani Republic.

Mr. Heydar Alirza ogly Aliyev, President of the Azerbaijani Republic, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Azerbaijani Republic, His Excellency Mr. Heydar Alirza ogly Aliyev, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Aliyev *(interpretation from Russian)*: Allow me, first, to express my sincere satisfaction on the occasion of your election, Sir, as President of the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session and to wish you every success in your work.

I should like also to thank the President of the last session, Mr. Samuel Insanally, for the work he did.

I express my deep gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his tireless efforts to strengthen peace and security throughout the world. I should like to extend to him my very special appreciation, especially for his keen interest in the problems of our young State, which is going through a complicated period of its history.

It is with a sense of excitement and pride that I am addressing this Assembly from the podium of the most authoritative international forum. For the first time, the President of an independent Azerbaijan is representing his country before the international community, a country that has been recognized by this community and has joined it as an equal among equals.

The Azerbaijani people have striven for freedom for centuries. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union they gained their national independence. Our Republic has embarked upon the road of constructing a law-based, democratic and civilized State. This is a complicated process; it cannot be completed overnight, but we are steadily moving towards our goal. During a short period of time a great deal has been accomplished, and all the conditions have been created for the formation of a law-based, democratic society. We have evolved in our Republic a multi-party system, firmly based on the principles of political pluralism and freedom of the individual, speech, the press and conscience, as well as principles of respect for human rights and the rule of law. All citizens of multinational Azerbaijan enjoy equal rights, irrespective of their racial, religious and linguistic affiliations.

Political changes and the democratization of the country have created the conditions for carrying out deep

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economic reforms, ensuring a transition to a market economy. We fully encourage the development of free enterprise and private initiative. We are on the way to realizing a large-scale privatization programme, using world experience based upon common human values - on the experience of leading countries that have already achieved great success in constructing civilized, prosperous and democratic societies.

Located at the important geopolitical junction of Europe and Asia and the focus of the keen interest of many Powers, possessing rich natural resources and a substantial industrial potential and guided by the firm will and confidence of the Azerbaijani people, we are carrying out the strategy of strengthening our independence and implementing democratic market reforms. Today, from this lofty rostrum, I firmly declare that no one will be able to make the Azerbaijani people stray from this path. We look to the future of our country with optimism.

Our optimism is also linked with historic processes taking place in the world as well as with profound changes in the system of international relations. A world order based on equal rights and replacing military and ideological confrontation will certainly form the future basis of this system. Partnership and enduring peace and security for everyone, in accordance with international law and the principles and provisions of the United Nations Charter, are becoming the fundamental principles of the new world order. We see the light at the end of the tunnel, a tunnel leading from a world of hostility based on the use of force to an era of cooperation and prosperity. We are ready to walk along this road together, hand in hand with all the other countries and peoples of the world.

However, the threats looming over mankind have not been totally eliminated. Old stereotypes still exist, and numerous problems, accumulated over decades of confrontation, especially problems in the sphere of disarmament and the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, have not yet been overcome. Relations between States with different economic potentials still suffer from the maladies of the past. Time is presenting us with new challenges, challenges linked with environmental difficulties and population and development problems.

Aggressive nationalism and separatism, giving birth to conflicts in the Caucasus, the Balkans and other hot spots, have become realities following the collapse of the old world order. These conflicts not only hamper the development of independent States and directly threaten the very existence of fledgling democracies, but also threaten international security as a whole.

That is why, in a post-confrontational world, a special responsibility rests on the shoulders of authoritative international organizations as well as on those shoulders of the big Powers. Using their political weight and their economic, financial and military resources, they must more actively direct their potential towards extinguishing the flame of conflicts and towards the consolidation of peace, stability and security throughout the world.

It goes without saying that in the construction of a new world order there is a leading role for the United Nations, which will celebrate its fiftieth anniversary next year, and for its Security Council, which has extensive experience in resolving a number of conflicts and crises. However, the Security Council will still face the difficult test of proving to the international community its efficiency under new conditions. Today, as never before, the Security Council is required to be more persistent in achieving guaranteed implementation of its resolutions. We hope that enlargement of the Council will contribute to its strengthening.

We attach great importance to the role of the General Assembly, which is primarily seen as ensuring the closest possible interaction between States in the decision-making process, on the basis of compromises and the balance of interests.

Under present conditions, one should mention the increased importance of the efficient use by the Secretary-General of his powers, as well as the support that must be given him by Member States, which share with him the responsibility for strengthening international peace and security.

Generally speaking, the Azerbaijani Republic is optimistic about the future of the United Nations. We are determined to continue to protect the lofty principles of the United Nations and to seek improvement in the authority and efficiency of the Organization.

For many of those present the notion of war and armed conflict may, fortunately, be associated with history or faraway events. But for my people it is a cruel reality and a bloody daily routine.

For six years the flame of war has been blazing on the land of Azerbaijan. The Republic of Armenia, under

the pretext of realizing the right to self-determination of an ethnic group of Armenians living in the Nagorny Karabakh region of Azerbaijan, is openly carrying out plans to annex the territories of our State, to forcibly change its State borders and to expel the Azerbaijani people from their homes.

All this is cloaked by an arbitrary interpretation of the right of peoples to self-determination as meaning a right of any ethnic community to proclaim itself independent and to join another State. Such an interpretation of the right to self-determination blatantly contradicts the principles of State sovereignty and territorial integrity. Any attempt to make this right absolute results in cruel conflicts, which we have witnessed in our region and in other parts of our planet.

The Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, has expressed his concern on this issue, saying:

> "... if every ethnic, religious or linguistic group claimed statehood, there would be no limit to fragmentation, and peace, security and economic well-being for all would become ever more difficult to achieve." *(A/47/277, para. 17)*

I fully agree with Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali that:

> "The sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of States within the established international system, and the principle of self-determination for peoples, both of great value and importance, must not be permitted to work against each other in the period ahead." (*ibid, para. 19*)

Being aware that the international community is insufficiently, and sometimes unilaterally, informed about events in our region, I should like to brief the Assembly on the real situation.

Having created a powerful military build-up on the territory of the Nagorny Karabakh region of Azerbaijan, the Republic of Armenia started intensive military activities against our Republic. With the occupation of the town of Shusha and of the Lachin region, the annexation of Nagorny Karabakh was completed, and about 50,000 resident Azerbaijanis were ousted. Using the Nagorny Karabakh springboard, Armenian armed forces then occupied another six regions of Azerbaijan: Kalbajar, Agdam, Fizuli, Djebrail, Zangelan and Kubatli, which, like the Lachin region, are situated outside the former Nagorny Karabakh autonomous region, with a territory four times bigger than that of Nagorny Karabakh.

As a result of the aggression, more than 20 per cent of the territory of Azerbaijan is under occupation by the armed forces of the Republic of Armenia. I must mention here the huge losses on the Azerbaijani side: more than 20,000 killed, about 100,000 wounded and 6,000 taken prisoner. In addition, more than 1 million Azerbaijanis - about 15 per cent of the population - have become refugees and live in tents. In their own country they have been deprived of shelter, and they suffer from heat, cold and epidemics, and experience shortages of their basic needs. Seven hundred towns and villages have been levelled on the occupied Azerbaijani territories; practically all the houses, schools, hospitals, and ancient monuments have been burned down and looted.

I think there is no need to prove that here we are dealing not with the realization of the right to self-determination, but with a gross violation of international law, in the form of aggression against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of a United Nations Member State.

The war has created unbearable conditions for my people. It aggravates social tension and hampers the implementation of economic and political reforms aimed at the democratization of Azerbaijani society.

As a result of the war, the Azerbaijani people have suffered a huge material loss, amounting to billions of dollars. As for the moral damage inflicted on human life and destiny, there is hardly anything to compare to the sorrow and pain of my people.

Blood is being shed now, not only in Azerbaijan, but also in other hot spots of the world. Peoples must not remain indifferent to these tragic events. Collective efforts should be made in order to prevent the escalation of armed conflicts and to achieve their just and lasting resolution.

During the past two years the Security Council adopted four resolutions and its President has made six statements in connection with the occupation of Azerbaijani territories by armed forces of the Republic of Armenia.

In all its resolutions the Security Council reaffirms the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Azerbaijani

Republic; emphasizes the inadmissibility of the use of force for the acquisition of territory; it strongly demands the immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of all occupying forces from all the occupied regions of Azerbaijan; and calls for the return of refugees to their homes.

But all these decisions have so far been completely ignored by the Republic of Armenia. Moreover, Armenia continues to build up its military presence in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan.

On the other hand, the Security Council has also failed to put into effect the mechanism for implementing the resolutions. Here we face a question: to what extent is the Security Council consistent and resolute, and how is the degree of application of its powers in each case defined?

Non-compliance with the decisions of the Security Council does not serve the interests of the United Nations, and may undermine confidence in its abilities to achieve its main objective: the maintenance of international peace and security.

Experience gained in the process of settling regional conflicts shows that the efforts to implement resolutions succeed only when endorsed by the political-military means envisaged in the United Nations Charter.

The duty of the most authoritative international organization in the world community is to take effective measures with respect to the aggressor State, which is blatantly violating norms of international law.

In the efforts to settle the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, we rely on such an authoritative organization as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The Minsk Group, created by the CSCE for the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, also proceeds on the basis of the necessity for the evacuation of all the occupied territories and the complete withdrawal of the occupying forces beyond the boundaries of Azerbaijan. It also calls for respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and internationally recognized borders of Azerbaijan.

However, unfortunately, the numerous mediation efforts of the CSCE have not yet brought about any tangible, concrete results, due to the lack of appropriate mechanisms.

Only now do we have the first positive result. At the cost of enormous efforts, and owing to active mediation by the Russian Federation and the CSCE Minsk Group, a cease-fire has been achieved in the conflict zone. The fighting and bloodshed have been stopped for more than four months. We greatly appreciate all this. But the situation still remains very complicated and the truce is very fragile.

The Republic of Armenia has put forward an illegitimate condition, that of exchanging part of the occupied Azerbaijani territories for independent status for the Nagorny Karabakh region of the Azerbaijani Republic. It demands that it keep its military presence in this Azerbaijani region and that it control the town of Shusha and the Lachin region of Azerbaijan, which implies consolidation of its annexation of our territories.

Armenia completely excludes the restoration of the demographic composition of Nagorny Karabakh as it was at the beginning of the conflict and the return of the Azerbaijani population, including its return to one of the ancient centres of Azerbaijani culture, the town of Shusha. On these conditions, Armenia, ignoring the Security Council's resolutions, proposes the deployment of an international separation force along the perimeter of the occupied Nagorny Karabakh region of Azerbaijan, thus trying to turn it into a tool for freezing the situation and to make it a hostage of its annexationist policy.

The position of the Azerbaijani Republic has always been constructive and peace-loving. Despite all the damage inflicted upon us, we propose peace to the Armenian side on the basis of international law, justice and humanism. We are prepared to provide guarantees to the Armenian population of Nagorny Karabakh. We favour the restoration, on a mutual basis, of communications in the region, including the humanitarian corridor between Nagorny Karabakh and the Republic of Armenia. We are also prepared to discuss the status of Nagorny Karabakh within the Azerbaijani State.

However, there are norms and principles that we consider eternal: the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country, the evacuation of all the occupied territories and the return of refugees to their homes, including the return of 50,000 Azerbaijani refugees to their native land in Nagorny Karabakh.

The Azerbaijani Republic, while it still wants a peaceful political settlement, considers that only the elimination of the consequences of aggression, through

the implementation of Security Council resolutions, will make it possible to carry on a stable and productive negotiating process, with the goal of establishing a durable, stable cease-fire and ensuring security for all the people of the region. Here we count on the assistance of the world community to ensure the realization of coordinated peaceful decisions on the basis of a precise mandate for peace-keepers in accordance with international norms.

We highly appreciate the cease-fire agreement. We realize that it does not mean peace yet, but it creates the necessary conditions for its rapid achievement. On several occasions we have voiced our firm resolution to observe the cease-fire regime until the peace agreement is reached and there is a total cessation of the military conflict. I repeat that today from this lofty rostrum of the United Nations.

We support the peace-keeping activities of the CSCE Minsk Group and the Russian Federation, and favour the consolidation of their efforts against any kind of competition in the process of settling the conflict. Such competition could only complicate the achievement of peace, which is needed equally by the peoples of Azerbaijan and of Armenia.

Our demands for the complete evacuation of all occupied Azerbaijani territories are legitimate; they are in full conformity with Security Council resolutions. Attempts to annex any regions are unacceptable to us and go against the norms of international law.

As a result of a war thrust upon us, an extremely difficult humanitarian situation has emerged in the Republic. Every seventh person in a country with a population of 7 million is a refugee, lacking a home, work and means for existence. Suffering from harsh miseries, refugees and displaced persons are staying in tent camps. The severe winter conditions and the lack of necessary food and medicines have created a threat of epidemics and famine among the most vulnerable group of the population. Overcoming the extremely grave refugee situation has become one of the major concerns of the Azerbaijani State.

International organizations and a number of States have responded to the urgent appeal of our Republic, and we express our most sincere gratitude to the Governments of Sweden, the United Kingdom, Germany, Japan, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Denmark, which have become the largest donors to the United Nations programmes of humanitarian assistance to Azerbaijan. We are also grateful to the Governments of Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia and other countries for their considerable humanitarian assistance within the framework of bilateral relations, and to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the United Nations Children's Fund, Doctors Without Borders and numerous non-governmental organizations which have rendered invaluable assistance to the refugees and displaced persons in Azerbaijan.

The role and place of my country in international relations are influenced by its geographical location and socio-political orientation, as well as the historical-cultural traditions of a land where Western and Eastern civilizations have merged. It is with an awareness of these peculiarities and the challenges of change that we are building, step by step, our cooperation with the outside world. Since the international recognition of the Azerbaijani Republic, we have established equal, balanced relations with the overwhelming majority of States, and we have joined a number of world and regional organizations. We have made serious efforts to expand our international relations and to restore the links that were lost due to certain conditions. Attaching special importance to historical, geographical, economic and humanitarian links with the independent States that have emerged on the territory of the former Soviet Union, we favour the development of equal cooperation with them, in particular with Russia, both on the basis of bilateral relations and within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Azerbaijan is developing friendly relations with the United States, the United Kingdom, France and China. Close good-neighbourly ties link us with the countries of our region and of adjacent regions, countries such as Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Pakistan, with which we closely cooperate within the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

Azerbaijan's accession in May this year to the Partnership for Peace programme of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was an important event in the political life of our country. This programme attracts us with the idea of cooperation and interaction in the interests of common security. I welcome the accession of the former members of the Warsaw Pact to this programme. This fact gives hope to the whole of the Eurasian continent for peaceful cooperation, thereby ensuring security, progress and prosperity for all peoples, and thereby eventually eliminating the possibility of the emergence of new adversarial blocs. We hope that

participation in the NATO programme will enhance the role of our country in the building of a new European security structure.

This year the Azerbaijan Republic was accorded the status of Observer in the Non-Aligned Movement, a step that provides us with a broad opportunity for the establishment of bilateral contacts in various fields and for the *rapprochement* of our positions with those of the States members of the Movement.

The accession of the young Azerbaijani State to the United Nations as a full Member in January 1992 marked the most important stage in the development of our country. The scope of our cooperation with many United Nations international agencies has been expanding ever since.

We appreciate especially the cooperation we enjoy with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Concrete projects that are of great importance for the socio-economic development of our country have been elaborated as a result of the practical work of experts representing these large financial institutions. We assume that many possibilities exist for our fruitful cooperation with international financial institutions. We understand the prudence and concern demonstrated by the heads of the IMF and the World Bank with regard to the war conditions in which the Azerbaijani Republic has been engaged. At the same time, however, the IMF has given a structural adjustment loan to Armenia, which is in a state of war with us. We consider that justice requires at least a balanced approach in this matter.

We are expecting a great deal from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) in the way of technical assistance in the drawing up of national programmes for the development of market economy infrastructures, and assistance to enable our country make progress towards modern management methods and the application of advanced technologies.

We attach especial attention to international economic cooperation, and it is with deep satisfaction that I should like to inform you that on 20 September 1994, as a result of long and difficult negotiations, the Azerbaijani Republic signed a contract with a consortium of large international oil companies for the joint development of the off-shore oilfields for a 30-year term in the Azerbaijani sector of the Caspian Sea.

This landmark economic endeavour testifies to our policy of openness to the whole world, as well as to our policy of liberalizing the economy and attracting foreign investment. The signing of this unique contract will promote the strengthening of cooperation and *rapprochement* among the peoples and countries participating in its implementation, that is, Azerbaijan, the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, Turkey, Norway and Saudi Arabia.

In mentioning this, I should like once again to underline the fact that the Azerbaijani Republic is seeking full-fledged integration into the world community and has the full capacity to do so. For that reason the core of its policy is the aspiration for peace, and we pin great hopes on the United Nations in assisting us to achieve this peace.

The Azerbaijani people have placed great confidence in me in electing me President of a young, independent State, and today it has been my privilege to convey to you its deepest aspirations. I leave this lofty rostrum of the General Assembly in the hope that the voice of my people will be heard by the members of the Assembly and that it will pave the way to their hearts.

The President *(interpretation from French):* On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Azerbaijan Republic for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Heydar Alirza ogly Aliyev, President of the Azerbaijan Republic, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Agenda item 9 ***(continued)***

General Debate

The President *(interpretation from French):* The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, His Excellency Mr. Antonio Martino.

Mr. Martino (Italy): Mr. President, I am delighted to begin by congratulating you and your country, Côte d'Ivoire, on your election as President of the General Assembly at this session. I also wish to thank your distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Insanally.

Let me also take this opportunity to congratulate the Sovereign Military Order of Malta on its admission to Observer status in the General Assembly.

My statement fully endorses and follows on that of the German Foreign Minister, who spoke in his capacity as Chairman of the European Council.

From the very beginning of its membership in the United Nations Italy's foreign policy has been guided by its active support for the Organization's principles and functions. Our contributions to United Nations deliberations, peace-keeping operations and aid through multilateral channels are tangible proof of Italy's faith in the project drawn up at San Francisco almost 50 years ago.

Our newly elected Government will remain steadfast in this approach to supporting the United Nations and building upon the historic opportunities offered by the new international situation. Let me emphasize that, now more than ever, Italy is firmly committed to fostering personal, political, and economic freedom, protecting individual rights and liberties and enforcing the rule of law. These are the preconditions for peace and prosperity and the reasons why Italy is presenting its candidature to the Security Council for the period 1995-1996.

Unfortunately, the hopes that were kindled by the end of the cold war, with its promises of peace and stability, have not been met in international reality. At the same time, there is little doubt that today we are facing fewer global risks, despite local conflicts, intolerance and racial and ethnic strife. It is thus our task to embark on a new age of cooperation, democracy and development, in which the United Nations must play a central role. Today, the General Assembly can become the link between expectations and commitment.

Italy will continue to play its part in peace-keeping, as it is already doing in eight different missions, including logistical support for the operation in former Yugoslavia and training centres and permanent bases for peace-keeping forces on its territory. The new United Nations base in Brindisi is particularly significant in this regard.

However, we cannot ignore the high costs of the proliferation of primarily internal conflicts. The budget for peace-keeping operations currently amounts to approximately $3 billion, three times the regular budget of the Organization. The Presidency of the European Union has noted this particular aspect of peace-keeping operations. We must strengthen preventive diplomacy in order to avoid over-extending our capabilities, becoming ineffective and risking financial collapse.

In the wake of the crisis in Rwanda, my Government is promoting the establishment of a task force for rapid intervention in humanitarian emergencies. This matter is now being considered in the appropriate forums and the results will be presented to the United Nations. I welcome the support expressed for an emergency humanitarian instrument by the Presidents of the United States, the Russian Federation and Argentina, and believe that our ideas and proposals follow the same orientation. Entrusting peace-keeping functions to regional organizations is another option for crisis management. My Government has moved consistently in this direction at the national level and in its capacity as Chairman-in-Office of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Italy attaches particular importance to an effective and efficient functioning of the Security Council. The matter of equitable representation on the Security Council and of increasing its membership requires thorough examination. To this end, Italy has submitted one of the most realistic and comprehensive proposals to the Ad Hoc Working Group. We hope that the General Assembly will reach a consensus on the methods and timetable for a truly equitable reform.

Many members question whether the pre-eminence the Organization has given to peace-keeping in recent years has not drained the other fundamental objectives of the United Nations - namely, economic and social development - of initiative and resources. The Secretary-General has wisely acknowledged these concerns in his recent agenda for development.

Mr. Seniloli (Fiji), Vice-President, took the Chair.

As that document states, peace is only one of the dimensions of development. The others are the economy, the environment, justice and democracy. To the extent that democracy protects and promotes personal liberty and economic freedom, it has a decisive impact on development by encouraging the strongest force behind economic growth and personal development - individual creativity. A prosperous democracy will be free of the internal tensions that have caused so many of today's conflicts. The United Nations will foster a more peaceful world by promoting freedom and justice in addition to continuing its peace-keeping functions.

In today's world, the issue of trade is of paramount importance. As I like to say, trade unites us; politics divides us. At the Naples Summit, Italy, in its present

capacity as Chairman of the G-7, strongly advocated the further dismantling of barriers to world trade in order to foster the creation of wealth. We are convinced that the leaders of the free world must avoid squandering the unique opportunity for world peace and prosperity offered by current historic developments. They must resist the pressure of interest groups and be ready to serve the general interests of their nations and the nations of the world, which today more than ever require the opening of markets and the liberalization of trade. This will be the role of the World Trade Organization.

In this spirit, we endorse the principles of the agenda for development and are ready to help establish the guidelines for their implementation. The fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations Charter will provide an opportunity for fostering such a process.

I should now like to address the United Nations General Assembly in my capacity as Chairman-in-Office of the CSCE. We are actively promoting peaceful solutions to several regional crises. In the former Yugoslavia we are engaged in restoring long-term missions, appointing Ombudsmen for the Bosnian Federation, instituting a CSCE mission in Sarajevo and admitting The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to the CSCE.

We have lent our good offices to Ukraine, where a CSCE mission will be instituted, and to Georgia for the crises in South Ossetia and Abkhazia. The CSCE Presidency has also worked towards facilitating the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic States and finding a solution to the problems of citizenship and status of non-citizens in that area. Through the local CSCE missions, the CSCE Presidency is also attempting to foster a political solution to the Moldova-Trans-Dniester and Tajikistan crises, while it actively supports the efforts of the Chairman of the Conference on Nagorny Karabakh, Ambassador Eliasson.

At the 1992 Helsinki Summit the CSCE declared itself to be a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter and adopted specific guidelines on peace-keeping. The ministerial meetings in Stockholm and Rome led to the United Nations-CSCE Framework Agreement in March 1993 and to the CSCE's being granted observer status at the United Nations. My recent letter to the Secretary-General on developing and strengthening cooperation between the CSCE and the United Nations was a follow-up to these decisions, as was the establishment of relations between the CSCE and numerous United Nations agencies working in areas of common concern. One specific proposal is to attribute primary responsibility to the CSCE for issues concerning stability and security in its area, without impinging on the statutory powers of the Security Council.

Peace-keeping is an area that requires closer cooperation. The two Organizations should adopt a standard set of principles for the peace-keeping activities undertaken by individual States or third parties.

I should like to address the European Presidency's statement and memorandum on our current international policies, limiting myself to those issues which more closely concern Italy for historical and geographical reasons.

Italy warmly welcomes the acceptance by the Croatian-Muslim federation and the Serbian-Montenegran federation of the peace plan submitted to them on 6 July. That plan provides a realistic solution to territorial disputes and constitutional issues and ensures that Bosnia and Herzegovina will retain its international identity. Unfortunately, the repeated rejection of the plan by the Bosnian Serb leadership is a source of deep disappointment. This has made tougher sanctions against Pale inevitable in order to force it to reconsider its position.

The partial lifting of sanctions against Belgrade, which we have advocated from the beginning, will encourage the Serbian Government to pursue its new, more constructive policy. This includes the agreement to allow international monitors to ensure the effective sealing of the border between Serbia and Bosnia. In our ongoing commitment to find a solution to the intractable crisis in Bosnia, we have been trying to involve other important international forums, starting with the G-7, enlarged to include Russia, in joint efforts to foster a political solution.

With regard to the Middle East, Italy welcomed the signing of the Cairo Accords, concluded on 4 May, which authorized the start of self-government in Gaza and Jericho. We also salute the subsequent transfer to the Palestinian authorities of jurisdiction over the issues covered in the Washington Agreements. Italy is pleased to have contributed to the resumption of negotiations that led to the Cairo Accords, through our participation in the international temporary presence in Hebron to implement Security Council resolution 904 (1994). Italy reaffirms its commitment to contributing politically and economically to the reconstruction of the Palestinian

territories. The Israeli-Jordan Accords of 25 July represent a milestone in the construction of a new Middle East on the basis of peace and cooperation. We hope that all these developments will stimulate progress in other negotiations between Israel and its neighbours.

In the Mediterranean basin, serious instabilities and tensions are spreading. Italy intends to make its efforts to ensure that this region sets an example of tolerance, economic cooperation and democracy.

As one of the main architects of the peace process in Mozambique, Italy is pleased with the progress achieved in recent months. Elections are now set for 27 and 28 October this year. We will continue to collaborate with the United Nations and other donor countries in the reconstruction of Mozambique. We also hope that regional cooperation in southern Africa will help improve economic conditions in Mozambique, thereby strengthening the process of peace and democratization. We hope that Mozambique will become another United Nations success story, like the peace-keeping operations in Namibia, Cambodia, El Salvador, Guatemala and elsewhere.

We would also like to encourage the trends towards re-establishing peace in Angola on the basis of the Peace Accords and the pertinent Security Council resolutions.

An area that has seen great progress in recent years is the further strengthening of disarmament and non-proliferation. The implementation of existing agreements is a difficult task for our diplomacies, but the drive towards more advanced forms of disarmament and arms control is relentless. We look forward confidently to negotiations to ban nuclear testing and to halt the production of fissionable material. Progress in this field should also contribute to the indefinite and unconditional extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

With regard to conventional weapons, I wish to take this opportunity formally to announce the terms of Italy's moratorium on the export of anti-personnel mines. The moratorium will apply to all transfers and be applied until new international regulations become effective. This commitment imposes an economic cost, but one that my country is willing to pay. We urge all Member States to adopt similar national moratoriums until the international regime has been finalized.

But let us not forget that conflicts, especially internal ones, are also created through the violation of fundamental human rights. That is why we are in favour of strengthening the mechanisms to monitor and protect those rights by fully implementing the High Commissioner's mandate and strengthening the Centre for Human Rights.

When these rights are seriously violated, despite all efforts, we are in favour of recourse to a fair judicial process. In the same spirit with which we welcomed and contributed to the International Tribunal on crimes committed in the former Yugoslavia, we support the creation of an international criminal court for the adjudication of all violations of human rights, wherever they may occur. This court must be allowed to inflict the appropriate punishment, with the exception of the death penalty, which Italy has consistently opposed. We are particularly pleased that, after years of hard work, the International Law Commission has completed a draft statute for the court, and look forward to contributing to the Assembly's debate on the matter.

The strengthening of international security is closely related to the fight against terrorism and organized crime. From 21 to 23 November this year, Italy will be hosting in Naples the ministerial World Conference on Organized Transnational Crime, under the auspices of the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch of the United Nations.

Italy is also actively participating in the preparation of the World Summit for Social Development, to be held in Copenhagen in March 1995, by contributing its experience in the three crucial issues on the agenda: combating poverty, unemployment and discrimination.

We live in an exciting but complex world. Few of us would disagree with the comment of Alfonso the Wise, King of Castile, a medieval patron of astronomy, who is quoted as saying, in effect, "If the Lord Almighty had consulted me before embarking on the Creation, I would have recommended something simpler."

While rereading the first address Italy delivered to this Assembly at the eleventh session, I was deeply moved, and not only because it was given by my father. Rereading it, it made poignantly clear the far-reaching changes since 1956, both on the international scene - from decolonization to the end of the cold war - and on the Italian domestic political scene. In that address, he defined the United Nations as

"the most complete expression of that education of the human race, acquired, as Lessing said, through suffering and error". *(Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Session, Plenary Meetings, 588th meeting, para. 94)*

And today, so many years later, it is an honour for me to reaffirm the same profound conviction and to pledge to this Assembly the total dedication of Italy and its Government to the ideals embodied in the United Nations Charter.

Address by Mr. Efraín Goldenberg Schreiber, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Peru

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Peru.

Mr. Efraín Goldenberg Schreiber, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Peru, was escorted to the rostrum.

The President: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Peru, His Excellency Mr. Efraín Goldenberg Schreiber, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. Goldenberg Schreiber (Peru) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I should like sincerely to congratulate Mr. Essy on his election as president over the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His country and mine maintain friendly diplomatic relations and close links strengthened by the historic ties between Africa and Latin America. I wish him success in his endeavours and offer him the fullest cooperation of the Peruvian delegation.

We live in an age that confronts the international community as a whole, and the United Nations in particular, with big challenges. Representative democracy and the market economy have spread throughout the world, along with an intensification of integration processes and the globalization of trade.

Nevertheless, international peace and security have not yet been consolidated in all regions. We have witnessed events such as the unexpected collapse of States that had seemed to be solid, episodes of massive violence within some countries and the tragic and complex situations that resulted, persistent aggression against a Member of this Organization and the exacerbation of nationalism in many parts of the world. All these things challenge the present capacity of the United Nations to respond.

Faced with such challenges, the United Nations must reaffirm its central role as the indispensable leader in the maintenance of international peace and security and in the promotion of world-wide development. This is its duty, not only because of the universal character of the United Nations system, but also because of the contractual significance of the instrument by which it was established.

In this respect, we must bear in mind that the potential of the United Nations as the foremost international Organization can be reinforced by increased and more efficient coordination with the regional organizations.

By the same token, we attach special importance to the General Assembly's exercise of the powers assigned to it by the Charter, as well as to the expansion and reform of the Security Council. With regard to the latter, we should seek to correct the imbalances in its present composition, improve its decision-making machinery and make its working methods more transparent, while striving to make its composition truly representative of all Member States of the Organization.

As the Secretary-General pointed out in his reports, "An Agenda for Peace" *(A/47/277)* and "An Agenda for Development" *(A/48/935)*, it now appears to be politically feasible to respond to the multiple requirements of international peace and security while encouraging cooperation in the social and economic field, because the complementarity of these elements is such that without economic development there can be no peace or security. "An Agenda for Peace" must therefore be complemented by an agenda for development. In this way the United Nations could lead the international community, in accordance with the purposes and principles of its Charter, and integrate the actions of our Organization with the work of the Bretton Woods institutions, and above all the World Trade Organization.

In this regard, we share the concern of the Secretary-General, who has warned that the subject of development is in danger of vanishing from the United Nations agenda. We must therefore emphasize that the grave problems related to development must be included in our Organization's work and that developed and developing countries must agree on the need to address,

urgently and adequately, critical situations such as dire poverty.

The coming World Summit for Social Development offers us an opportunity that we must seize. Peru, which took part in the early stages of the process that led to the decision to convene that Summit, will contribute to it the national programme for social development that the Government of President Fujimori has been carrying out, a programme that gives priority attention to the basic services of health, education and the administration of justice, particularly for the poorest.

In the same context, Peru believes that the internal efforts of developing countries in the vital spheres of social and economic advance must be matched by high-priority multilateral and bilateral cooperation.

I must also observe that in most of our countries social development also means stability. Therefore, continuing democratization and modernization is largely dependent on the assignment of high priority to this inescapable challenge.

Along with the problems of development, the rapidly evolving situation today presents us, as an international Organization, with a number of particularly complex subjects. Outstanding among them is the process of reconciliation and peace in the Middle East, which will have important effects on regional and world stability and security, as well as on trade, regional cooperation and disarmament. Peru supports this process, and believes that resolutions adopted in the General Assembly must properly reflect that reality and contribute to the maintenance of an appropriate political climate to advance the negotiating process.

We also welcome the new South Africa, which embodies the fulfilment of the essential principles of the Charter and which is a possible factor for regional stability. It also provides an example of democratic change.

The tragic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has made clear the serious limitations of multilateral organizations, demands increased efforts by the international community to ensure an early and lasting peace.

I now wish to address a subject that we cannot ignore, one that affects the international community as a whole and that is particularly delicate for my own country: the drug problem. Peru reiterates its resolve to continue to fight illegal drug trafficking, as well as its conviction that this serious problem urgently requires the unwavering political commitment of the international community. That alone will make it possible to adopt concrete and realistic measures to stand up to this scourge in accordance with the mandates of the Global Programme of Action adopted by the General Assembly in 1990.

International coordination and cooperation against drug-trafficking are indispensable. In that regard, I am pleased to point out that the recent Summit of Presidents of the member countries of the Rio Group accepted the proposal of the President of the Republic of Peru, Alberto Fujimori, to coordinate legislation to penalize money-laundering, allow the confiscation of property linked to drug-trafficking, establish swift extradition procedures, promote judicial and police cooperation on this matter and bolster cooperation for alternative development.

My country also pays special attention to human rights. Their promotion and defence constitute an inescapable obligation of the international community, which must therefore reinforce and improve current mechanisms of the system for the protection of human rights, in order to increase their efficacy.

We are pleased to note the growing recognition and support by this international Organization for those countries that, like us, are continuing to struggle to defend life and civilized ways of coexistence against the unjustifiable and irrational violence of terrorism. For us, this means that the international community has made progress, by recognizing that in countries such as Peru terrorist groups are the primary, the true, violators of human rights.

In the current context of renewal, we supported the creation of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, in an effort to improve United Nations measures to prevent and monitor violations of human rights, whether the violators be government agents or others. It is a matter of pride for our region that a distinguished Latin American diplomat is the first to fill this high office.

Within this chamber last year, the President of Peru announced that the leader of the bloodiest terrorist movement in the Western Hemisphere - caught as a result of our successful campaign for national peace - had acknowledged in writing the clear defeat of his totalitarian aims and his bloodthirsty methods. Today I

am pleased to confirm that Peru is swiftly progressing towards reconciliation and peace. The Peruvian strategy, which involves the State and civil society, has borne fruit, as evidenced by the mass desertions of terrorists as a result of the "repentance law" passed on repentance and the return of peaceful villagers to their homes, with the support and backing of the State.

My country, having guaranteed democracy and economic freedom, now has, after many years, excellent prospects. We have established a new national environment by consistently applying economic, social and pacification policies. The results prove that we have taken the correct path, as shown by the growth in gross national product - 7 per cent last year, and projected to be between 9 per cent and 10 per cent this year, figures which constitute the highest growth rates in the hemisphere.

This new situation will allow us, for the first time in decades, to give social issues the priority they deserve. The economic policies followed in Peru have made possible a social programme implemented through non-inflationary investment, with our own resources. This programme has the technical backing of international financial institutions and is in line with the conceptual approaches on social development promoted by the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme and a growing number of non-governmental organizations that share a belief in putting the human being at the core of development efforts. To do otherwise would be to make sustainable long-term growth impossible. This essential task for the whole of Peruvian society requires the cooperation and support of the international community.

My country's contribution to change in the world has been made possible by the efforts of our people, who have enabled us to enjoy internal peace, security, stability and economic growth. The path we are taking leads the most tenacious nation in South America, a people of long-proven creativity, on the threshold of a new millennium with the enthusiasm, the ability and the necessary tools for its development.

The President: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Peru for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Goldenberg Schreiber, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Peru, was escorted from the rostrum.

The President: I now call on the Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Austria, His Excellency Mr. Alois Mock.

Mr. Mock (Austria) *(interpretation from French):* Allow me to congratulate the President sincerely on his election to preside over the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I am particularly pleased to see a representative of a French-speaking African country occupy this important position. We trust that the forty-ninth session will, under his enlightened leadership, pay special attention to the political, economic and social problems facing his continent, so sorely tried over these last few years.

Next year the United Nations will celebrate its fiftieth anniversary with a series of activities throughout the world. The image of the United Nations in the eyes of world public opinion will depend largely on its status, on the extent to which it has remained faithful, 50 years after its founding, to the principles of the San Francisco Charter, which are still valid.

I believe it must be a priority to strengthen the world Organization in the spirit of Article 1 of the Charter, so that it can effectively carry out its mission of maintaining international peace and security. Let us also recall here the words of the great philosopher, Sir Karl Popper, recently deceased, who wrote: "Our primary objective must be peace. But we must not hesitate to wage war for peace." We have given the United Nations the responsibility of deciding when to use force to preserve peace. This weighty responsibility has to be exercised when necessary.

The Security Council is of paramount importance in preserving peace in the world. In order to maintain and strengthen the legitimacy and effectiveness of the Security Council, Austria advocates a slight increase in its membership. Every Member of the United Nations must be able to see and understand how views develop within that body. They must all be able to feel sure that discussions in the Council take account of the views of interested countries, for example, countries contributing troops for peace-keeping operations.

The importance of the United Nations must be preserved and developed, not only as a system for the maintenance of international peace and security, but also as a forum for discussion and an instrument for coordination at the global level. On the first point, much remains to be done. In the social and economic sphere

and in the field of development, important progress has been made, notably with the reform of the Economic and Social Council, which has permitted better guidance of operational activities for development.

A solid financial basis is absolutely vital to the effective discharge of the United Nations mission. Non-payment or late payment of mandatory contributions by Member States is a violation of the Charter and of the duty of international solidarity. The burden thus created falls, above all, on those Members that are called good payers and those that provide troops, expenditures that are reimbursed by the United Nations only after considerable delay. This chronic problem, which is getting worse, can be resolved only by timely and full payment of mandatory contributions by all Member States. As one of the 20 countries that, in 1994, paid their full contribution in a timely fashion to the regular budget of the United Nations, and as a regular participant in peace-keeping operations, Austria will, along with the Secretariat and other interested delegations, seek a solution to this difficult problem.

On the eve of its fiftieth anniversary the United Nations faces new challenges at the world level. Sustainable development, the monitoring of world population growth, the elimination of poverty, the creation of opportunities for productive employment, social integration, equality for women, better protection of human rights, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons - all are major themes of our era and have been or will be the subject of international conferences. The task of the United Nations is to draw the necessary conclusions from the results of these conferences and to define the outlines of sustainable human development at the world level. The Secretary-General's reports, "An Agenda for Peace" and "Agenda for Development", are essential elements in a discussion that has already led to a broader understanding of the idea of security.

The protection and promotion of human rights is one of the central tasks of the United Nations. The accomplishment of this task has benefited from the vital impetus provided by the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action. While we can be pleased with the outcome of the World Conference on Human Rights, the lasting impact of the final document of Vienna will none the less be measured by the continuing will of the community of nations to give effect to its provisions more rapidly and to guarantee them more effectively than in the past.

A crucial role is to be played in this connection by the High Commissioner for Human Rights. Austria welcomes the swift implementation of this central provision of the Vienna document. In the few months that he has occupied his post, Mr. José Ayala Lasso has fully lived up to the expectations arising out of his difficult and important mandate. His official visit to Vienna began a dialogue with all Governments. It seems to us a matter of priority to promote coordination of international protection of human rights within the United Nations system, and in this the High Commissioner will, of course, have a determining role to play. We should also strengthen the various mechanisms for protecting human rights, as well as the role of the Special Rapporteurs. This should make it possible to react more quickly to violations of human rights and to prevent them more effectively. The resources needed for the High Commissioner's work should be provided as soon as possible.

Effective protection of human rights is not only a duty towards each individual; it is also an essential contribution to ensuring stability, development and security. History teaches us that we must resolutely oppose all flagrant violations of human rights, such as genocide in the Nazi concentration camps or by the Khmer Rouge, as soon as they are brought to light. This makes it all the more difficult to understand that the resolution adopted by the United Nations Conference on Human Rights relating to Bosnia and Herzegovina has remained a dead letter, thereby jeopardizing the credibility of our world Organization.

Mr. Choi Su Hon (Democratic People's Republic of Korea), Vice-President, took the Chair.

In this connection, I wish to pay a particular tribute to Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, former Prime Minister of Poland and Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, for his excellent work, of which the world community should be proud. I would also hail President Izetbegović of Bosnia and Herzegovina who, with great self-discipline and in a very constructive spirit, has accepted to speak with those who are committing a kind of genocide against his people. This is remarkable conduct from an extraordinary individual.

The effective protection of minorities involves great difficulties in many countries. I am pleased to be able to inform the Assembly that, in 1992, Austria and Italy were able to resolve their dispute over the Southern Tyrol. The dispute related to the implementation of the

1946 Treaty of Paris on the situation of the German-speaking and Ladino-speaking populations in Southern Tyrol. It was also dealt with in General Assembly resolutions 1497 (XV) and 1661 (XVI), adopted at the fifteenth and sixteenth sessions respectively.

The solution that was agreed to by both sides was to establish relatively comprehensive autonomy in southern Tyrol. This seemed on the whole to be an adequate basis for ensuring the continued existence of the German-speaking and Ladino minorities.

Given the constant changes in the atmosphere - particularly the economic and financial atmosphere - there has to be a dynamic autonomy if its objective is to be attained. This will require ongoing flexibility and understanding on the part of the relevant authorities. A solution to the minorities problem on the basis of territorial autonomy must, over the long term, aim at ensuring that all those who live together under the same roof view such autonomy as a positive thing that protects their respective interests.

The unanimous statements made by Prime Minister Berlusconi, Foreign Minister Martino and Interior Minister Maroni that they would not touch the autonomy of southern Tyrol seem to us to be a guarantee that we shall continue on the same road.

Austria is proud, as one of the headquarters countries of the United Nations, to host a number of important programmes that meet the immediate interests of the individual and also have a decisive impact on international relations. These include protection from drug abuse, the struggle against crime, questions on the use and control of nuclear power and on the preservation of the system for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons - all of these are major activities of the United Nations at Vienna, as is international cooperation on outer space and on the promotion of international industrial development.

Following recent political changes, important new areas for United Nations activities have emerged in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. Vienna sees itself as an important point for coordinating activities to support and assist those States as they move towards democracy, a state of law and a market economy.

On the eve of its fiftieth anniversary, the United Nations currently has more than 70,000 people in 17 different peace-keeping operations. More than three times the regular budget is being devoted to those operations. Austria, which has been involved for decades in such operations, is aware of the enormous challenge that this poses to the United Nations and its Member States in terms of funds, personnel and organization.

One of the most important events to take place within the framework of the activities organized in Austria in connection with the fiftieth anniversary will be the very high-level conference set for early March 1995 in Vienna. This conference will be devoted to the discussion, analysis and preparation of recommendations on how best to take up the challenge of measures to preserve peace on the eve of the new millennium. I am particularly pleased and grateful that the Secretary-General has been kind enough to agree to deliver the opening address in Austria.

Austria is in favour of strengthening civilian peace-keeping operations and of stepping up United Nations activities in preventive diplomacy. Thus, the Austrian Federal Government has established, in the city of Schlaining, a centre for civilian peace-keeping operations. This year, we held our second seminar on the re-establishment of peace and on preventive diplomacy, a seminar in which high officials of the United Nations participated. Also in Schlaining, we have a regular training programme, with international participation, for civilian international operations relating to peace-keeping and peace-building.

For a quarter of a century, the non-proliferation Treaty has successfully prevented the proliferation of nuclear weapons and has also successfully prevented the abuse of nuclear power for military purposes. The 1995 Review Conference will take a decision on extending the non-proliferation Treaty. Our common goal must be the unconditional and unrestricted extension of the Treaty. Austria also has good reason to hope that the substantive negotiations currently under way in the Conference on Disarmament with a view to the conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty will lead to nuclear disarmament.

As the host country of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Austria is aware of the importance of this control mechanism for the application of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The success of any future agreement on a nuclear-test ban will, in the final analysis, depend on the effectiveness of the work done by organizations responsible for its implementation and verification.

A year ago, the Austrian Federal Government decided to offer Vienna as headquarters for the future organization to be established under the nuclear-test-ban treaty, and I would wish to extend this invitation again today before the General Assembly.

This year once again, our hopes of seeing an end to the fighting in the territory of the former Yugoslavia have been dashed. Despite international initiatives and peace plans, the actual prospects for an equitable and lasting solution are not very good. The reconciliation between the Bosnian Croats and the Bosnians, which stemmed from the Washington Agreements, should not make us forget that the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina continues to leave innumerable victims in its wake. The toll of dead and displaced persons grows daily more terrible. The aggressor has gone so far as to attack or lay siege to cities that have been declared United Nations protected areas.

Despite repeated international condemnation, the Serbian side has continued its practice of "ethnic cleansing". Austria strongly condemns these crimes, wherever and by whomever they may be perpetrated, and we shall never stop calling for an end to such practices.

Basic principles of the international order continue to be trampled underfoot and lose their credibility. Specific resolutions such as those on military guarantees for protected areas or return of refugees to their home, have not yet been implemented. All international initiatives and efforts for the repatriation of refugees have been made a mockery by "ethnic cleansing", which continues to be practised and, in the final analysis, continues to be tolerated at the international level. The arms embargo imposed by the Security Council in September 1991 has a unilateral impact, to the detriment of those countries that have taken over from the former Yugoslavia and that are threatened by Serbian ambitions. And so we have arrived at a situation where the legitimate Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina is unable fully to exercise its right to legitimate self-defence, while at the same time that State cannot even benefit from adequate protection under the system of collective security. On the other hand, we do not see any attempt on the Serbian side to abandon the idea of a Greater Serbia based on the illegal conquest of territories by force. This can be seen from the fact that the peace plans prepared by the European Union and the contact group have still not been accepted by the Serbian side, although on many points they do respond to their aspirations.

In its resolution 943 (1994) of 23 September the Security Council set forth the conditions for a suspension of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The Belgrade Government must allow international observers to control the blockade against the Bosnian Serbs. The observer Mission now being established along the Serbo-Bosnian border is, as Austria sees it, a step in the right direction but, and I stress the point, it remains to be seen how effectively the Mission will be able to carry out its task and whether credible consequences will in fact be drawn from the conclusions arrived at by the observers.

In Croatia also the situation remains largely unchanged: contrary to the provisions of the 1992 Vance plan which was approved by the Security Council, more than one quarter of the country remains in the hands of the rebel Serbs. So far there has been neither demilitarization of these regions under the supervision of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) troops nor has it yet been possible for the civilian population to return. Recent protests show to what extent the situation has become untenable for displaced persons within Croatia.

Against the backdrop of the extremely harsh judgements often pronounced on Croatia one must not forget the very clear terms of the legal opinions of the Badinter Commission in January 1992. From these texts it is clear that, in principle, Croatia met all the conditions set forth by the European Union for recognition of new States in Eastern Europe. I realize that in some areas, such as administration, practices *vis-à-vis* the minorities and the media, improvements are still much to be desired. But we should not measure Croatia by different and harsher criteria than the criteria we use for other countries in central and south-eastern Europe because we have greater access to Croatia and because there are more transparent structures there, and there is no other country in Europe, apart from Bosnia and Herzegovina, that has been subjected for years to a violent military attack with which it has to cope under extremely difficult conditions.

The situation in Kosovo, which has been too neglected because of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is continuing to deteriorate. The Belgrade authorities have pursued their systematic action against the Albanian majority of the population. There is still a danger that mass violence may erupt. Observer missions sent by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) which were expelled in 1993 have not been

authorized to return despite intensive international efforts to that end. In that region, which is almost 90 per cent inhabited by Albanians and has been fully autonomous during the past couple of decades, we are witnessing the exercise of a kind of power that is tantamount to that of an occupying regime.

The situation in former Yugoslavia shows that what the great French philosopher, Blaise Pascal, said in his *Pensées* remains as true as ever. He said that justice without force was powerless and that force without justice was tyrannical. The collective security system of the United Nations which is part of the post-war order, has not really been applied by the international community in the case of the conflict in former Yugoslavia. The hope that the collective security system would be used as an instrument of peace following its successful use after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait has proved disappointing.

Unfortunately, Bosnia and Herzegovina is not an isolated case. It would be a serious mistake not to mention, at least, some other tragedies - Rwanda, Angola, Afghanistan, Haiti, Tajikistan, and so on. There is too long a list of hotbeds of crisis and violence, where the law of the strongest tramples underfoot the principles of the Charter of San Francisco. At the same time we must draw strength and optimism from some positive developments, historic in their significance. I may mention, for example, free and democratic elections in South Africa, an end to the policy of apartheid, autonomy in Gaza and Jericho, and an end to the state of war between Jordan and Israel. In South Africa and in the Middle East age-old objectives of the United Nations have finally been attained or are about to be attained. Austria, in so far as it can, actively supports these peaceful processes, not only in the interests of the peoples concerned but also in the interests of greater hope of resolving other similar problems.

The year 1994 is of historic significance to Austria. A huge majority - 66.58 per cent - of the Austrian people came out firmly in support of joining the European Union, a community of States that holds the same values as, and plays an increasingly important role in, the United Nations. This was the largest support in a European State for the idea of European integration.

With that democratic force we will continue to support this goal, and - as of 1 January I hope - as a member of this community we will contribute in a spirit of solidarity and openness to the attainment of the objectives of the United Nations as we have done in the past.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I now call on the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Oman, His Excellency Mr. Yousuf bin Alawi bin Abdullah.

Mr. Abdullah (Oman) *(interpretation from Arabic):* Mr. President, please allow me at the outset to congratulate you on your assumption of the Presidency of the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your unanimous election to this high office attests to the respect accorded by the international community to your friendly country, Côte d'Ivoire. We are confident, in view of your qualifications credentials and diplomatic skills, that you will steer the work of this session to a successful conclusion which will further the noble causes and principles of the United Nations, which are aimed at bringing peace and prosperity to the world. I would like to assure you of my delegation's cooperation with your endeavours to achieve this common goal.

I should like also to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to His Excellency Samuel R. Insanally, the Permanent Representative of the friendly country of Guyana, for the exemplary manner in which he presided over the work of the previous session of the General Assembly. Furthermore, on behalf of the Government of the Sultanate of Oman, I should like to pay special tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his dedicated and continued efforts aimed at resolving complicated conflicts by peaceful means.

This forty-ninth session is being held amid increasing prospects for and optimism about the creation of a world in which atmosphere of peace, interdependence and peaceful settlement of disputes will prevail. Our Arab region is currently witnessing radical and important changes where hatred and animosities between the Arabs and Israel are slowly vanishing and giving place to a new climate of understanding, dialogue and coexistence.

We are totally convinced that there is no alternative means by which the Arabs and Israel may resolve their differences other than negotiation. While some promising and positive results have been achieved, we are still at the beginning of a long process and we have a long way to go towards resolving deep-seated differences. We therefore appeal to the international community to continue to lend its support to the efforts aimed at bringing peace and security to the region.

In South Africa, my country has participated with many other countries of the world in the inauguration ceremony of President Nelson Mandela. That historic event could not have taken place were it not for the courageous policies of both President Mandela and Vice President de Klerk in their approach to power-sharing based on equality.

Thanks to the positive steps taken and the wise policies pursued by President Mandela in forming a National Coalition government that embraces various political parties, South Africa has been able to resume its rightful place in this Assembly, and can now play its natural role in regional and international forums.

In Mozambique, the peace process is making significant progress. Moreover, we are witnessing an increasing normalization of relations amongst Asian countries. We also witness more integration and interdependence in the economic relations in Europe and in North America. And last but not least, we note with satisfaction the peaceful resolution of conflicts in Latin America and the unprecedented tendency of its peoples to opt for peace, development, and social and economic betterment in their countries.

We have to cover a lot of ground before we achieve the building of the world envisaged by the Charter of this Organization. The prevailing climate of concord affords us an opportunity to enable this Organization to face up to the challenges and unresolved problems and to address such problems in the light of the new realities.

My country views with satisfaction the steps that have been achieved so far on the Palestinian-Israeli track. We have always called for a just, lasting and peaceful solution to the situation between the Arabs and Israel through direct negotiations. Therefore, my country has welcomed the outcome of the Palestinian-Israeli negotiations which culminated in the signing of the Cairo Agreement on the implementation of self-rule in the Gaza Strip and Jericho. This Agreement is now being implemented, the Palestinian Authority is now a concrete reality and is exercising its different functions in such areas as education, health, taxation, tourism and social affairs. There are other functions stipulated in the Agreement which, we hope, will be exercised at the earliest possible time, by the Palestinian Authority. The expansion of the competence of the Palestinian Authority to other Palestinian areas in the West Bank will undoubtedly strengthen the peace process and contribute positively to security and stability in the area.

Such significant steps could never have been achieved had not the Palestinian Liberation Organization honoured its obligations under the Declaration of Principles signed in Washington and under the Cairo Agreement. In order to achieve peace and enable the Palestinian people to take advantage and reap the benefits of the vigorous efforts exerted in this context, the international community should extend the necessary assistance to the Palestinian Authority so that it may be able to discharge its many responsibilities and rebuild the infrastructure, which has been severely damaged. Support for the Authority will not only serve the cause of security and stability in the self-rule areas alone but in the region of the Middle East in its entirety.

The desired just and lasting peace will prevail only through complete withdrawal by Israel from the entirety of the occupied Arab territories, in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973) and 425 (1978), and in application of the land-for-peace principle.

My country has followed with interest another significant step in the peace process, namely that on the Jordan-Israeli track, which was highlighted by the signing by His Majesty King Hussein of Jordan and the Israeli Prime Minister of a declaration that ends the state of war between the two countries and masks the movement towards the establishment of a comprehensive peace. My country has supported these positive and important steps.

Mindful of the fact that comprehensive peace is an aspiration of the present and future generations, we emphasize the critical importance of a complete Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Jordanian territories. We believe that it is crucial for Israel to demonstrate the necessary flexibility to reach an agreement on the question of water in order for both countries to move forward towards the long-awaited lasting peace.

We look forward to similar positive and important steps in the peace process on both the Syrian-Israeli and Lebanese-Israeli tracks. We are confident that the co-sponsors of the Middle East peace process as well as the parties concerned are fully aware of the fact that unless significant and substantive progress is made on those two tracks, the peace process will remain incomplete and will make the region's peoples prey to suspicions, mistrust and instability. Therefore, efforts must be made in the coming phase, to achieve concrete progress in this direction. Israel must declare its readiness to withdraw completely from the Syrian Golan Heights and from the

Lebanese territories it now occupies. We are confident that if Israel were to take such an undoubtedly positive step in the peace process, the peoples of the Middle East would be able to work together towards the consolidation of peace and the promotion of economic development on a large scale in the region.

Mindful of the need to support the peace process and given the awareness that national and regional security are inseparable, the Sultanate of Oman has actively participated in the meetings of the five working groups emanating from the multilateral negotiations. Although the latter are no substitute for bilateral negotiations, they constitute a significant tributary that has the potential of giving a rather significant boost to the process in the direction of the desired just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

Given the pivotal importance of water resources for the future security and peace of the Middle East, the Sultanate of Oman accords a very high priority to the discovery and development of new water resources side by side with the promotion of sea-water desalination technology in order to make such technology more cost effective. Within the framework of multilateral negotiations in the Middle East, my country hosted the fifth meeting of the Working Group on Water Resources held from 17 to 20 April 1994. The meeting resulted, *inter alia*, in the endorsement of the Omani proposal to establish in Muscat, the Omani capital, a regional centre for the research aimed at the development of desalination technology.

Given the great significance we attach to the establishment of that centre, as it will have a decidedly positive impact on the economic development of the States of the Middle East, we look forward to the cooperation of all in this regard in order to make the transfer of water-resources technology cost effective to the region so as to help in raising the standards of social and economic development and, thereby, in consolidating the peace and stability of the region.

We in the Gulf region are committed to the achievement of the highest level of stability, cooperation and development in all our countries and to the development of our multilateral and bilateral relations. This naturally embraces the settlement of all bilateral differences. Consequently, we view with satisfaction the agreement between the State of Bahrain and the State of Qatar to have recourse to the International Court of Justice with regard to their differences over the disputed islands and the maritime borders. We also hope that the Islamic Republic of Iran and the United Arab Emirates would settle their differences regarding the islands of Abu Moussa, the Greater Tumb and the Lesser Tumb as soon as possible, in an amicable and peaceful fashion. This could include having recourse to international arbitration in view of the mutual interests the two countries share in various spheres. There is no doubt that such regional efforts will contribute to the consolidation of regional security and serve the cause of international peace.

We have noted recently that there has been considerable progress in Iraq's implementation of the resolutions relating to the destruction of weapons of mass destruction, particularly the agreement on the installation of a long-term monitoring system, which should now be put into effect for a suitable period. In the meantime, the Security Council should proceed to make the necessary contacts with both Iraq and Kuwait to implement its resolution 833 (1993) regarding the demarcation of international borders between the two countries through the acceptance and legal ratification by the parties in accordance with established international norms and practices in matters relating to international borders.

We believe that it is an opportune time to take more positive steps to enable Iraq to perform its regional and international role in a peaceful context and to help the brotherly Iraqi people to put behind it the years of embargo and to make up for what it has lost in terms of social and economic development.

The future of the region should be based on the conviction that it is imperative for States to develop and further their relations and to overcome their outstanding differences in a manner that safeguards the interests of all parties.

The interdependent nature of today's world makes it impossible for States to pursue an individualistic approach that disregards the interests of others. We therefore believe that the peaceful conduct of relations and the pursuit of constructive political dialogue are the best guarantees for present and future security and stability in the region.

We aspire after a more stable, more developed world that would be totally free from ethnic and regional conflicts, a world that would be able to ensure the progress of mankind towards a better way of life by channelling the disposable economic resources to the financing of scientific research which may benefit social and economic development. While we are fully aware of the fact that the international community has made real

progress in changing to the better in many important areas, it is nevertheless regrettable that there remain many factors which make other parts of the world prey to political, ethnic and regional conflicts. It is now abundantly clear that the United Nations is losing its ability to address all these crises. While we sympathize with the sufferings of many peoples that are victims of such crises, we believe it is high time the international community set up a new and unambiguous rule that should be followed in dealing with such problems. It is evident that the present mechanisms available to the United Nations and other international organizations are no longer able to perform their humanitarian role. It is not possible for the United Nations to go on feeding whole peoples indefinitely, and it is, therefore, high time for the leaders of countries immersed in such tensions and conflicts to realize that the United Nations will not be responsible for their actions towards their peoples, and that the States of the international community are no longer able to rebuild for them what they themselves have destroyed. Funds should not be made available to rebuild countries which destroy their own infrastructures with their own hands. All peoples should contribute effectively to the development of the world economy rather than be a burden on it.

The United Nations cannot play a peace-keeping role in each and every conflict that erupts in the world. Peace-keeping forces should not be dragged into regional conflicts except to the extent to which regional organizations and States are willing to shoulder their full responsibility in this regard. If deemed necessary, this should take place only following the consent of the parties to conflict and on the basis of clear goals and mandates linked to a definite time-frame.

Regional organizations have a vital role to play in the resolution of the disputes that exist in many parts of the world. Although that role parallels and is complementary to the efforts of the United Nations, we have noted that, regardless of how important and necessary it is, it is almost non-existent in the political arena. While we value the efforts of the peace-keeping forces in Somalia, we believe it would have been possible to avoid the negative aspects that became evident in that operation had full use been made of the Organization of African Unity, the competent regional organization qualified to bring about national reconciliation and the establishment of national authority. The United Nations could have lent a helping hand by providing expertise and advice, as well as political, financial and humanitarian support.

Regional arrangements, whether in Asia, Africa or in any other continent, in no way detract from the role of the Security Council as the principal body responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. Rather, such regional arrangements could help lighten the Council's workload and instil a sense of partnership and a spirit of caring into international affairs.

As the possibility of the failure of some peace-keeping operations cannot be ruled out, it is necessary to face the facts and to draw object lessons from them if the United Nations is to avoid sliding into the repetition of the same mistakes.

Tragic events are taking place in Rwanda as a result of the continuing political and ethnic strife that has led to the outbreak of violence, to the horrendous massacres, which claimed hundreds of thousands of innocent lives, and to the destruction of the infrastructure of that country's economy. Great numbers of Rwanda's people are now living in refugee camps in neighbouring countries under unimaginably tragic circumstances. Hunger and disease claim the lives of hundreds daily. In view of this horrendous suffering, my country calls upon the Rwandese parties to stop the bloodshed and work towards national reconciliation in accordance with the Arusha Peace Agreement so that peace and stability may be restored in Rwanda.

The mediation efforts undertaken so far to bring about peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina have proven to be insufficient, due mainly to the imbalance of power between the Bosnian parties. The main cause of imbalance in this regard is the denial to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina of their right to fight for their existence through the imposition of a comprehensive arms embargo on that small State, in total disregard of its right of self-defence enshrined in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. The arms embargo should be imposed on the aggressor. And who is the aggressor in the Bosnian case? All the facts available to the United Nations and its agencies regarding the situation in Sarajevo and in other Bosnian cities prove that the Serbs are the aggressors, and in the most inhuman terms.

While my country welcomes the structural reforms undertaken with a view to ensuring the optimum utilization of the resources available to the United Nations with the greatest degree of efficiency and flexibility, it feels that the ability of the Organization to discharge its duties and perform its role depends to a very large extent on the willingness of the Member States

to live up to one of the main responsibilities of membership - the prompt payment of their financial contributions, including their prompt contribution to peace-keeping operations.

As we approach the second summit meeting of the Security Council, we ought to accord due attention to the issue of the expansion of the Council's membership in accordance with the different trends prevailing in the world, while constantly preserving the principle of equitable geographic balance without prejudice to the level of decision-making in the Council. We therefore subscribe to the view that no hasty decision should be taken in this respect and that more time should be given to the regional groups to expound their views in this regard.

My country has noted with satisfaction the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round and the long-range General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in 1994 and the establishment of the World Trade Organization. This has helped prevent the world economic order's turning into a hotbed of tension and strife between the various regions. However, my country and the developing countries in general, some of which have acceded to those agreements or are in the process of so doing, request that their particular circumstances be taken into consideration when implementing the new agreements.

It is expected that our developing countries will have to make sacrifices in order to support the world economic order arising out of the 1994 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, particularly in the short and medium terms. Therefore, we hope to find support from the new World Trade Organization that would be proportionate to what we have to offer. We are particularly interested in the developmental aspect of these agreements, as we are interested in strengthening and developing the service sector in our countries through the assistance offered by the advanced economies and the international organizations.

In the area of disarmament, we hope that the international support to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on their Destruction will give impetus to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva to draft a comprehensive test-ban treaty that would be an important step towards ridding the world of nuclear terror. In this context, we support the efforts aimed at establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones, particularly in the Middle East, which is one of the world's most sensitive regions.

At present, thanks to the prevailing spirit of concord and the ending of the cold war between the East and West, we witness a robust movement towards the consolidation of peace and security. The world is beginning to realize that a climate of concord and harmony is the most viable means of establishing an international community characterized by constructive cooperation and mutual benefit, and that such a development will be in the interest of mankind and its well-being.

Today, on the threshold of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, we hope that the outcome of this session will be more compatible with the principle of international partnership and solidarity so that humanity may be able to lessen and cure the ailments that sill undermine the twentieth century and thus ensure that the twenty-first century will be a century of hope, peace and security for all human beings wherever they may be on the face of the Earth.

The President *(interpretation from French):* The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, His Excellency Mr. Stanislav Daskalov, on whom I now call.

Mr. Daskalov (Bulgaria): Let me, on behalf of the Bulgarian delegation, congratulate Mr. Amara Essy on his election to the presidency of the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I should also like to extend my appreciation to his predecessor, Ambassador Samuel Insanally, for his proficiency in presiding over the forty-eighth session.

Diverse, often conflicting trends and events characterize the present year, which has marked the end of apartheid in South Africa, a significant breakthrough in the Middle East peace process and steps towards a settlement of the problems in Northern Ireland. We have also witnessed, however, the incredible human tragedy in Rwanda and the continuing bloodshed in Bosnia. New hotbeds of tension have emerged in some parts of the world.

What are, in our view, the parameters of the political situation in the world, and Europe in particular? Efforts to build a new world based on the idea of developing the collective security system envisaged in the United Nations Charter have received additional impetus. Universal standards for human rights and international mechanisms for safeguarding them are being devised. The problems of population, poverty and the global

ecosystem are being addressed with increasing attention. A concept for renewed cooperation for development is being considered in which peace, the economy, the environment, social justice and democracy are viewed as aspects of the same movement towards a better world.

At the same time, the elimination of the contradictions between the East and the West has been followed by destabilization - temporary, we hope - in some regions of the world. Acts of aggressive nationalism and xenophobia, of violence and terrorism, are becoming more frequent. The numerous conflicts based on national, ethnic and religious intolerance are difficult to manage. Among other things, this has disturbed the balance between the efforts to maintain international security and the activities in the social and economic sphere, against a background of spreading hunger and poverty and the aggravation of economic and environmental problems.

These global problems have left their mark on relations in Europe as in other places. On one hand, new, historic possibilities for wide cooperation between all European States have opened up in the process of promoting a common European identity. On the other hand, new, as well as reawakened, national interests and policies are taking shape, and these are interacting with and, at the same time, counteracting the integration processes.

The end of the ideological and military confrontation on the old continent has not yet led to the removal of all barriers. Europe is still divided into zones that differ in terms of security and economic welfare. It is desirable that this division be overcome, as the problems of the zones with less security could be transferred to those with greater security.

The global political dimension of the ongoing transition to democracy and a market economy in Central and Eastern Europe has been largely recognized. Despite the serious decline in living standards and rising unemployment, the Bulgarian people voted for transition. The process of market-orientated reform that started about five years ago is irreversible. Our association with the European Union is a manifestation of the European orientation of my country's policy and an expression of the political will to adhere to the universal values of democracy. We are adapting our economic, social and trade mechanisms to those of the European democracies and are actively participating in political dialogue with the European Union. Though slower than we anticipated, the economic reforms in Bulgaria are moving ahead.

As a participant in the Partnership for Peace initiative of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and as a State with associate status in the Western European Union, Bulgaria will contribute to the improvement of cooperation between the Euro-Atlantic and European security institutions and the relevant United Nations structures.

On the eve of the session of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in Budapest later this year, Bulgaria is confident that the high-level representatives of European countries will come up with new ideas to improve the functions of the CSCE, including cooperation with United Nations.

The Council of Europe - one of the oldest of the international organizations in Europe - has won recognition as an organization capable of responding adequately and in a timely manner to the challenges of our time by promoting pluralistic democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights.

As Bulgaria currently holds the chairmanship of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, I should like to refer briefly to this body, which already comprises 32 members. Nine States have joined since 1989, and nine others are involved in a process of accession. Cooperation between the Council of Europe and United Nations institutions and between the Council and some of the specialized agencies has been developed over many years and has produced concrete results. This cooperation has now become triangular - combining the efforts of the Council of Europe, of the CSCE and of the United Nations. In addition, there is a developing partnership with the European Union.

In this complex and interdependent environment the United Nations must increase its capacity to confront the new challenges if it is to be effective in peace-making and in the development of social and economic cooperation between countries. In this context, important views and concepts are contained in the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace", in his report on new dimensions of arms regulation and disarmament and in his agenda for development.

Bulgaria values highly the role of the United Nations in solving problems directly related to the strengthening of regional and international security. We support a peaceful and equitable solution of the conflicts in the Caucasus region, the Caribbean, Africa and other places.

We are particularly concerned about the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has become one of the most serious challenges facing European States and institutions, the entire civilized world and the international organizations. We call for an immediate end to the war and the suffering of the population. A political solution in Bosnia and Herzegovina must be based on respect for the interests of all parties. There must be compromise and realism on all sides. In our view, concerted action by the participants in the Contact Group is the second prerequisite for the achievement of a lasting and just solution to the conflict.

Let me once again reaffirm the position of Bulgaria on the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. My country will not participate, directly or indirectly, in any military activities on the territory of the former Yugoslavia - not even under the flag of the United Nations - and we call upon the other Balkan States to do likewise. "Restraint" should be the key word for the Balkan region. Bulgaria will continue to pursue a constructive and balanced policy and will not take part in any one or other grouping of Balkan countries. Thus it will maintain its stabilizing role in the region.

Bulgaria subscribes to the view that in the current circumstances it would not be appropriate to lift the arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina. This, in our view, would make the conflict even more uncontrollable.

We welcome the adoption of Security Council resolutions 941 (1994), 942 (1994) and 943 (1994), which reflect in a balanced way the current developments in the region. We hope that the easing of the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro will be followed by the adoption of a responsible policy by the party concerned, thus leading to further normalization of the situation in the region. We appeal to the leadership of the Bosnian Serbs to accept the proposed peace settlement and to act in accordance with the norms of civilized behaviour.

The crisis in the former Yugoslavia is directly related to yet another important problem - that of equitable burden-sharing, not only in implementing the sanctions imposed by the Security Council but also in overcoming their adverse effect on the economies of third countries. The decision to abide strictly by the sanctions has not been an easy one for us. We joined in the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro - sanctions mandated by the United Nations - in the conviction that they are one of the peaceful means by which the international community can contribute to a solution of the conflict. The sanctions have, however, caused significant direct and indirect losses to my country. On three occasions since 1991 - as a result of the sanctions against Iraq, Libya, and Serbia and Montenegro - Bulgaria has requested consultations with the Security Council regarding its special economic problems. Let me point out that the adverse effects of the sanctions have came at a time of major economic transformation. They distort trade seriously and hence have a significant negative impact on the economy, affecting primarily the emerging private sector.

Mr. Blandino Canto (Dominican Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

At a time of reorientation of foreign trade within our European integration policy, the implementation of the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) has cut off our normal trade routes to European markets. The lack of adequate alternative transport corridors makes our export activity much less competitive and sometimes even impossible.

The sanctions are far from being the only source of our problems and difficulties, but they definitely have a considerable negative impact on the overall political, economic, security and social situation in my country. I would say that the burden of the sanctions exceeds the point of reasonable economic and social tolerance in Bulgaria, given the lack of adequate financial, economic and trade assistance. Urgent measures are imperative to overcome all those negative effects. Bulgaria would welcome a more active involvement of international institutions and the developed countries in, for example, financing projects for improving the transport infrastructure of the country as part of the alternative road, railroad and communication links in Europe. Another measure could be the provision of better market access for Bulgarian goods and services. We also hope that the sanctions Committee established under resolution 724 (1991) will give favourable and timely consideration to the applications submitted by Bulgarian companies, especially those for providing humanitarian aid to the Bulgarian minority in eastern Serbia, whose situation is of primary concern to us.

The United Nations has shown considerable understanding of our difficulties and has given us moral support. I would like to recall the adoption by consensus of General Assembly resolution 48/210, initiated by Bulgaria and sponsored by a number of countries. We now look forward to constructive discussions on the Secretary-General's report on this resolution. This should lead to the General Assembly's adoption of further

recommendations for practical steps aimed at assisting third countries in alleviating their special economic problems.

Bulgaria is of the view that in the process of restructuring the United Nations account should be taken of the new political and economic realities of the world, as well as the specific problems of countries in transition to a market economy and of small States, while at the same time observing the principles of international law and equality set forth in the United Nations Charter.

The improvement of interaction between the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Secretary-General, as well as the restructuring of the major United Nations bodies in the social and economic sphere, will contribute to reinforcing the role of the United Nations in the pursuit of the necessary balance between preventive diplomacy, promotion of sustainable development and protection of human rights.

Bulgaria is following with great interest the ongoing discussion on the question of equitable representation on the Security Council and increasing its membership while preserving its effectiveness. Our country is ready to participate actively in the search for consensus decisions.

We believe that the Security Council's work would be much more effective if, in the decision-making process on regional issues, the positions of neighbouring countries and States concerned, as well as those of the respective regional organizations, were taken into consideration. This is particularly important in cases where the Security Council considers the imposition of economic sanctions. It would be useful to prepare and examine in advance a complex evaluation of the negative effects sanctions would have on the economies of neighbouring countries.

There is also a need for greater transparency in the activities of the sanctions Committees. We therefore suggest that their meetings should be open to interested States. The respective Chairmen could also conduct briefings after each meeting to inform the States of the decisions taken.

The States willing to provide contingents for peace-keeping operations should also be involved in the Security Council deliberations regarding these operations. In addition, the recently established practice of holding regular meetings of the heads of current operations, the member States of the Security Council and representatives of other interested States should be institutionalized, especially in cases where the Security Council considers the mandate, composition and nationality of the contingents involved in a particular peace-keeping operation.

Bulgaria supports the efforts of the international community aimed at preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and at their elimination. At the forthcoming Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) review and extension conference, we will advocate an indefinite and unconditional extension of the Treaty. We are also happy to announce that this year Bulgaria ratified the 1993 Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction. The Republic of Bulgaria will continue to support regional and global initiatives on conventional disarmament and arms control.

In today's world, peace and security, democracy and sustainable development are inseparable. We therefore support the strengthening of the United Nations role in the social and economic field.

The further liberalization of world trade is an important factor in development. The successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations provides favourable prospects for wide liberalization and stable growth of world trade. The World Trade Organization will be of paramount importance for the efficient functioning of the global trade system for the benefit of all countries. We expect that Bulgaria will be able to finalize its negotiations on accession to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), including the results of the Uruguay Round, within a time-frame that will allow us to become a charter member of the World Trade Organization.

Bulgaria is interested in taking all possible measures aimed at achieving economic stability through sustainable development. Regional cooperation has a considerable role in this regard. We hope that the Conference of Ministers of the Environment of the European countries, which is to take place in 1995 in Sofia, will contribute to reinforcing the positive trends in the solution of regional environmental problems.

The promotion and protection of human rights and cooperation in the humanitarian field has an especially important place in Bulgaria's domestic and foreign policy.

We support the strengthening and promotion of the United Nations monitoring mechanisms in the field of

human rights, the establishment of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, the increased public awareness regarding human rights in all parts of the world and the activities of the non-governmental organizations. The World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen and the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing are expected to give a major impetus to the development and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Next year we will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations. We await it with a sense of responsibility and hope. I am confident that the efforts of the international community to build a new world security system based on the effective maintenance of world peace and stability, respect for human rights and promotion of the market-economy principles and of universal democratic values will dominate the future of the world Organization. Bulgaria is prepared to contribute to the achievement of these goals.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* I now call on the Deputy Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade and Cooperation of Luxembourg, His Excellency Mr. Jacques Poos.

Mr. Poos (Luxembourg) *(interpretation from French):* Allow me to express my deep pleasure at Mr. Amara Essy's election to preside over the General Assembly this year. This is a well-deserved tribute to your country, Côte d'Ivoire, which is held in high esteem by the international community.

My distinguished German colleague, Mr. Klaus Kinkel, speaking on behalf of the European Union, indicated the role it intends to play in international relations and described its positions on the major political questions. These positions are fully shared by my country. Consequently I will limit my remarks to certain points pertaining to the functioning of our Organization.

Over the past few years, we have lived through the end of the cold war and far-reaching upheavals in the international arena. These changes have had important and lasting effects on many people, on the populations of many States that lived under authoritarian forms of government and have now conquered the freedom to exercise their fundamental rights; on peoples freed of the constraints imposed upon them by the competition between the two super-Powers, which enabled dictatorial and repressive regimes to act with full impunity; and, finally, on the international community as a whole, which is no longer forced to live with the fear of nuclear conflagration throughout the planet.

Democracy has made a historic breakthrough. It will be restored in Haiti. In the Middle East the peace process is making progress. In South Africa apartheid has been definitively abolished, and this shining victory is shared by our Organization, which fought apartheid uncompromisingly. Let us give careful thought to the formidable lesson of political courage, tolerance and reconciliation given us by Presidents Mandela and de Klerk.

These advances are offset, however, by the emergence throughout the world of areas of tension which, no longer masked by a bipolar structure, are now growing in intensity. For three years now war has been raging in the former Yugoslavia, with an increasing toll of death, suffering and destruction. In Rwanda, we witnessed the unleashing of barbarism, which in a few months killed hundreds of thousands of civilians and provoked a refugee problem of exceptional dimensions. Similarly, elsewhere - in Africa, the Caucasus, Central Asia - other regions are faced with new types of conflict, resulting from the break-up of States and the resurgence of nationalist, ethnic and religious passions.

Never before has the United Nations found itself so much at the centre of world politics. The United Nations today finds itself forced to face entirely new challenges, to deal with an ever-growing number of demands and missions that are increasingly complex. I hail the dedication of our Secretary-General, who has persistently devoted his energies to the difficult mission of adapting the Organization to a new international environment, and of strengthening it to enable it to fulfil its new tasks. I wish to pay tribute to the United Nations peace-keeping forces which have intervened in recent times in an impressive number of conflicts. They have contributed, at times in a decisive manner, to protecting civilian populations, to preventing the spread of conflict and to facilitating the process of transition to democracy. A significant number of them have given their lives in what are often highly dangerous operations.

The growth of peace-keeping operations has been exponential. In the past five years, the Organization has launched more peace-keeping operations than during the previous 40. Moreover, the Organization is now embarked upon activities which far surpass the traditional peace-keeping concepts to which we had grown accustomed. Indeed, most of the recent conflicts have

emerged not between States but within States; the Charter hardly contemplates such situations. We shall therefore have to give thought to the conditions under which the United Nations should act in such cases, and ask ourselves whether it has the necessary resources and instruments to fulfil its new missions.

"An Agenda for Peace" provides a framework for the future evolution of our Organization in this field of peace-keeping. A number of the ideas put forward by the Secretary-General have been constructively put to use by the Security Council and by the General Assembly. But recent experience has shown us, at times pointedly, that there are often serious shortcomings to the way in which the United Nations conducts these military operations. Major operations can no longer be decided upon spontaneously; in the area of peace-keeping, the United Nations needs to strengthen its organizational, management and planning capacities. It must be able to rely on a permanent high command structure capable of simultaneously conducting several multi-dimensional large-scale operations and which has adequate means for information processing and coordination.

Effective crisis management implies the capacity to react quickly, which is why it would be desirable to enhance the United Nations capacity to rapidly carry the necessary personnel and equipment to the theatre of operations. In the recent past there have been too many instances in which the Secretary-General has been forced to delay operations approved by the Security Council owing to a lack of personnel or equipment. This implies that we, the Member States, should contribute the necessary peace-keeping troops for future missions and that we should be in a position to put them rapidly at the disposal of the United Nations. These contributions should not be limited to military personnel, but should also include civilians, from police to election observers. Indeed, peace-keeping requires many skills, including that of being able to intervene between opposing parties, of being sensitive to cultural particularities, and of being able to act as a mediator. The personnel who are called upon to intervene in these complex, difficult and dangerous situations should therefore be properly prepared and trained. Uniform training and joint exercises constitute the key to the effective integration of different national contingents in a multinational operation.

Finally, there is a need for a substantial strengthening of the safety provisions for the Blue Helmets.

Driven to the limits of its financial and organizational capacities, the United Nations will increasingly need to count on regional organizations and structures in order to carry out these peace-keeping operations. Cooperation between the United Nations and such organizations is provided for by the Charter, and it has been developed, for example, in the former Yugoslavia, in Somalia and in the Caucasus. It should be further strengthened.

Only the United Nations has the international legitimacy to decide to use force or to impose peace enforcement measures. But in the sphere of peace-keeping and preventive diplomacy, the activities of regional organizations would have the advantage of relieving the United Nations of part of its work. Often having a better understanding of the conflicts in their areas, such organizations could act with greater effectiveness.

With respect to the European continent, the United Nations should intensify its cooperation with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the Council of Europe and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), taking into account the competence of each of those organizations.

Does international law authorize the United Nations to intervene within a country? Does not the Charter assert the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of a State?

I welcome the fact that for some time now the international community has been treating that principle in a more flexible way. That principle should no longer serve as a shield for flagrant and massive violations of human rights. That is what occurred in 1991 in Iraq, when the international community came to the aid of the Kurds, harshly repressed by Saddam Hussein, or, again in 1992 in Somalia, when the task was to protect the supply of humanitarian aid to a population threatened by famine. On each occasion, the international community courageously assumed its duty to assist, though it is true that in Somalia a political solution remains to be found.

Did the international community show similar determination when, last spring, a virtual genocide was perpetrated in Rwanda, especially when the Tutsi community became the target of a deliberate act of extermination undertaken by officials of the Hutu community?

The United Nations, after hesitating for a moment, decided to reconstitute the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) in order to provide protection to the population that was threatened. But the Secretary-General's appeal was not heeded. The action finally taken by France and the Africans - and for this I pay a tribute to them - succeeded at least in putting the brakes on this infernal machine. I hope in any case that an international tribunal will be created without delay to bring to trial those responsible for this crime against humanity.

In this era of interdependence, efforts with a view to collective maintenance of peace and security cannot be reduced to peace-keeping operations alone, but must necessarily take into account economic and social factors. Famine, underdevelopment, the flow of refugees, over-population, environmental deterioration, drug abuse and, finally, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction are all serious threats to our global balance and, hence, to world peace.

In the economic sphere, too, our security depends on that of others. In all sectors that give rise to concern, whether we are dealing with military, trade, environmental or health problems, no nation can isolate itself from others. We are all affected by what happens beyond our borders, just as our own actions within our borders inevitably have repercussions on the community of nations as a whole.

Our security is increasingly indivisible. We cannot disregard the links that exist between development, economic growth, protection of the environment and population movements. If the situation deteriorates in any one area, the whole can be destabilized.

Having a global mandate in political, economic and cultural matters, the United Nations is the ideal forum in which to carry on the quest for lasting development that is compatible with preservation of an environmental balance and with the needs of social development.

We express our satisfaction at the recent issuance by the Secretary-General of his "Agenda for Development", which is a supplement to his "Agenda for Peace".

We hope that at this session of the Assembly we will succeed in identifying the priority sectors in which we should undertake in-depth reforms.

The promotion of progress and of economic, social and environmental development needs greater attention if we wish to overcome the long-term threats to international security. We must give our Organization the necessary tools to strengthen international cooperation, while national Governments make efforts to overcome increasingly complex problems relating to development.

Our vision of the future cannot merely accept poverty and privation in far too many parts of the world, where populations are deprived of their fundamental right to food and education and even to water, health and a roof over their heads. Wishing to make its contribution to a much-needed international solidarity, the Government of Luxembourg has undertaken to double, by the year 2000, the percentage of its gross national product earmarked for official development assistance so as to reach the target of 0.7 per cent.

The agenda for humanity, if I may use the expression of our Secretary-General, is the true challenge faced by the United Nations at the end of this twentieth century. From Rio to Cairo, through Vienna, Copenhagen and Beijing, major international conferences are supplying global answers to these global questions. Mankind, human development and commitment to his community are at the heart of those concerns, whether we speak of the Earth Summit, the World Conference on Human Rights, the International Conference on Population and Development, the World Summit for Social Development or the Fourth World Conference on Women. Improving the status of women and of women's general access to education and health is one of the keys to the success of this vast undertaking.

Millions of people in many parts of the world continue to fall victim to flagrant violations of their human rights. The Vienna Conference reaffirmed the universal validity of those human rights.

The creation at the last session of the General Assembly of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights should encourage greater respect for those principles. However, undertakings assumed are valuable only if they are translated into practical action. Thus, we must ensure that the United Nations has the necessary support and means in this sphere to implement its programme of action. We must take the necessary measures to increase the resources and strengthen the functioning of the United Nations Centre for Human Rights, as well as that of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.

Non-governmental organizations, through their actions, are also now a part of the international

conscience, including its conscience in regard to respect for human rights. Thus, our Organization and all its Member States should recognize and facilitate the important role played by those organizations.

As we draw near to the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, our Organization has been undertaking a series of negotiations with a view to revising its working methods. The work with a view to the necessary reform of the Security Council has continued over the past year. It will be necessary to persevere in our search for a solution that will reconcile the need for a more balanced composition with the concern for effective functioning.

It is also imperative to improve the methods of work of the Council and ensure greater transparency in its work and better communication with the members of the General Assembly. Although the latter do not participate in the deliberations of the Council, they are bound by its decisions and they are regularly requested to apply sanctions and to provide funds or personnel for the implementation of peace-keeping operations.

The Secretariat is a key institution of the United Nations system. It must have the necessary means to carry out the innovative work it has been undertaking energetically and courageously. At the same time, however, we should combat the proliferation of institutions, since this exhausts the limited resources of our Organization and compromises the cogency of its efforts.

In this period of limited resources, it is also imperative that Member States seriously take up the question of effective management. Strict budgetary discipline is needed, and resources should no longer be wasted on operations with ill-defined goals. In that connection, we welcome the various steps taken by the Secretary-General with a view to making better use of the resources provided to the Organization and creating a more rigorous financial inspection system.

Our Organization, in the end, will succeed only through the way in which each State discharges its own responsibilities under the Charter. They include financial responsibilities. The obligation of solidarity that is binding upon all States of our Organization should motivate them to discharge their budgetary obligations to the United Nations in full and on time.

Our Organization, which is the only forum that brings together virtually all the States of the world, needs the commitment of its Members. It needs decisions that are well thought out. It needs measures for proper follow-up. Only in that way will it be able usefully to contribute to channelling international efforts to realize our common goal: which is to make our planet a place where peace, security and greater prosperity for all peoples of the world can prevail.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* I now call on the Secretary for External Relations of the Federated States of Micronesia, the Honourable Mr. Resio Moses.

Mr. Moses (Federated States of Micronesia): I am honoured to address this forty-ninth session of the General Assembly. First, I wish to congratulate Mr. Amara Essy on his election to the presidency, and to say that his experience makes him an excellent choice to ably lead this body to meet the challenges ahead. I also take this opportunity, on behalf of my Government, to congratulate the former President, His Excellency Mr. Samuel Insanally, and express our appreciation for his contributions. The same appreciation is extended to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros-Ghali, for his strong and effective leadership, so instrumental in the success of the work accomplished by this Organization.

We note with great sympathy the terrible volcanic eruption in Papua New Guinea. We express the hope that this Organization and its Members will take all possible measures to assist in alleviating the suffering and destruction caused by this disaster. We also express our sympathy to the people and the Government of the Republic of Estonia for the recent accident and loss of life in that country.

We join the other members of this Assembly in warmly welcoming the new South Africa here. Their struggle was long, arduous and painful. The people and Government of Micronesia share the joy of the Government and people of South Africa at having achieved their objective.

My Government welcomes the historic steps taken toward peace in the Middle East and expresses its support for the ongoing bilateral negotiations between the parties in that region. In the light of these positive developments in the peace process, the General Assembly should reflect this new reality in the course of this forty-ninth session and provide an environment conducive to further dialogue between parties.

We gather at a time in our history when new grounds of cooperation are being woven into greater dimensions of solidarity. This is fortunate because we also face urgent challenges to the future of our planet. From the point of view of a small developing State, we come to this Assembly with immediate concerns on such issues as climate change, sustainable development, nuclear waste and natural disasters.

Linked with all these concerns is the issue of human rights. The road from Vienna, where the world community met only a few hundred miles from where "ethnic cleansing" was taking place in Bosnia and spoke of improvements in the field of human rights, has been marked with new signposts leading us in the right direction, namely, the establishment of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and the election of Ambassador Jose Ayala Lasso to that post. However, the scenery along the way is not that much different from what it was for many years before this. Today, the atrocities and violations of human rights that are continuing in Bosnia seem to be even overshadowed by newer outbreaks of human rights violations in such areas as Rwanda, Haiti and other parts of our world. This Assembly must continue to devote its attention and resources to human rights.

Several weeks ago at Brisbane, Australia, the Heads of Government of our 15 Pacific States, including the Federated States of Micronesia, held the annual meeting of the South Pacific Forum. As is their practice each year, the leaders discussed matters of common concern within our region and expressed consensus views in a communiqué that has already been presented and included in the records of this Assembly. The Federated States of Micronesia subscribes to the views expressed in that communiqué, and will be guided by it in many of our actions here in the coming months.

The South Pacific Forum also decided, at its recent meeting in Brisbane, to seek observer status at the United Nations during this forty-ninth session. In attaining observer status with the United Nations, the South Pacific Forum will address the increasing importance placed on the role of regional organizations and the contributions they can make towards the objectives of the United Nations. We believe that the Forum, as an observer, can increase the effectiveness of our region's work on such critical issues as climate change, conservation of biological diversity and effective implementation of the results of the Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States.

One long-standing major concern of our Government, which is shared by Forum members, is the testing of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction within our region. We are relieved by the continued moratorium on nuclear testing by France and the United States, but we remain deeply concerned at the possible consequences that may flow from China's insistence on proceeding with its programme. We will not breathe easy until a moratorium on all testing is made permanent, and to that end we hope that rapid progress will be made towards concluding a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty.

Despite our outspoken concerns in numerous international venues during recent years, the Pacific region's vastness and seeming emptiness still makes it an attractive location for environmentally unfriendly activities. Too often, when we have attempted as island countries to halt movements through our waters of toxic, radioactive and hazardous materials, our voices have not been heard. As if the dangers of such transport were not bad enough, today we confront an even more repugnant prospect, that of our region becoming a permanent dumping ground for the world's nuclear waste. I wish to emphasize here that the Federated States of Micronesia is and will remain diametrically opposed to the use of our region by countries which are unwilling to store their waste within their own borders. As part of our dedication to finding more effective means to prevent these outrages, the Federated States of Micronesia has the honour of chairing the ongoing negotiations within the Forum group towards a regional treaty banning transboundary movement of all hazardous wastes.

Through these and other appropriate actions, we are determined to see that the Pacific region is treated by the rest of the world community with the same degree of concern for the long-term health and welfare of our people and their environment.

We welcome the Secretary-General's new report on an Agenda for Development. My Government fully supports the call for a re-evaluation of the role of the United Nations in development. As the United Nations approaches its fiftieth anniversary, its global agenda must be redefined to be more comprehensive and more focused. The present lack of coordination between the Bretton Woods institutions and the United Nations must be corrected to synchronize the setting of global policy on development.

The end of the cold war has presented the United Nations with a long-overdue opportunity to turn its attention to development. Yet the cost associated with expanded peace-keeping operations around the world is diverting scarce resources at a time when, for many States, the role of the United Nations in development is becomingly increasingly prominent. This is a trend that the United Nations must examine very carefully in order to find the proper balance among all its responsibilities under the Charter.

The recently concluded International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo is testimony to the global problems associated with our rapid population growth. The United Nations and the international community face a pressing urgency to redirect resources to address population growth and sustainable resource use. The world's population is growing faster than ever before with an estimated number of 95 million people being added each year. This unprecedented population growth rate will have a profound effect on our environment. The action plan for population and sustainable development has clear implications for climate change. I wish to draw the distinction that, although the rate of population growth in the industrialized world is slower, these countries still add a disproportionate cost to the environment because residents in industrialized countries add about four times as much carbon to the atmosphere each year as do their counterparts in the developing countries. Micronesia strongly supports the Programme of Action on Population Control and Development endorsed at Cairo and is looking forward to meeting the goals and objectives contained therein.

As an island State, my Government welcomes the significant breakthrough and the universal acceptance of the United Nations Convention on the Law of Sea and its imminent entry into force on 16 November 1994. This is the culmination of long and arduous negotiations among countries for more than a decade in shaping what I consider to be a near-perfect management and conservation regime for the high seas and the deep seabed which is the common heritage of mankind. The Federated States of Micronesia is a party to the Convention and I am happy to inform the Assembly that my country was among the many countries which signed the deep seabed mining Agreement relating to the Implementation of Part XI of the Convention after it was opened for signature. We look forward to close cooperation with the international community in the sound management and conservation of the high seas as well as our individual territorial waters.

As a developing island State whose economy is dependent on these resources, Micronesia is committed to the promotion of responsible fishing practices - not only within our exclusive economic zone and the zones of our neighbours in the region, but also in the contiguous high seas areas adjacent to the zones. The Federated States of Micronesia has actively participated in all of the substantive sessions of the United Nations Conference on Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks. In the Federated States of Micronesia, we are fortunate that our islands are located in those latitudes of the Pacific Ocean in which 50 per cent of the world's highest grade tuna resources are located and caught. While we appreciate having this resource, we remain ever mindful of the fact that the continued viability of our economy depends on the rational use of the marine resources present in our waters and beyond. This principle of rational utilization of resources forms the foundation for the concept of sustainable development.

It is not only coastal States like my own, which must be dedicated to rational use and responsible fishing practices. Distant water fishing nations must also recognize and protect the fragile balance of nature that exists in the oceans of the world to ensure the sustainability of the resource.

During the last session of the Conference on Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks, my Government's delegation joined the 15 other States members of the Forum Fisheries Agency in supporting a binding legal document as the form of outcome for the Conference. Even so, we do not support any outcome which would compromise the sovereign rights of coastal States over the living marine resources occurring within their own extended economic zones. We do not support any derogation from the provisions of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea that recognize the sovereign rights of coastal States.

I now direct my comments to the recently concluded Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States in Barbados, which has been a great success in many ways. For the first time in the history of the United Nations, we have been able to put forward an agenda for world attention concerning the sustainable development of small island developing States. The Programme of Action that emerged from that Global Conference is the first post-Rio de Janeiro effort to amplify the principles of Agenda 21 in a specific

context pointing towards tangible measures for implementation.

While this is a milestone, it will remain little more than a planning document without the genuine commitment of our developing countries around the world. We welcome the recent report of the Secretary-General on actions taken by the Organization and by the bodies of the United Nations system to implement the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States. We cannot help but feel a certain impatience to see actions taken that are accompanied by necessary funding; nevertheless my Government applauds the steps being taken to ensure that the results of the Barbados Conference are integrated into the programme of work of the Commission on Sustainable Development. Strong partnership in this regard should be seen not as a conflict between developed and developing countries, but rather as a shared goal and an investment for the benefit of the entire family of nations. A notable and welcome example of such shared effort is the upcoming initiative by the United States to work with all countries towards the revitalization of the essential coral reefs, which are deteriorating all over the world.

The Global Environmental Facility (GEF) is one source of funding from which Small Island Developing States could access financial assistance for implementation of the Programme of Action and other related environmental endeavours. The Programme of Action adopted at the Barbados Conference specifically requested that, since such global environmental problems as climate change, biological diversity and international waters are of great significance and concern to small island developing States, the restructured GEF should be seen as an important channel of assistance in these areas through the provision of new and additional resources. At the meeting of Heads of State the South Pacific Forum, which recently concluded in Brisbane, Australia, welcomed the restructuring and replenishment of the GEF and its intention to assist in the implementation of the decisions taken at Barbados.

We therefore encourage all Member States, during the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly, to give meaning to the concept of sustainable development by supporting the overall outcome of Barbados, including all enabling legislation. This will give the United Nations specialized agencies and organizations the mandate to start implementing the Programme of Action.

In the Framework Convention on Climate Change, we appealed for a more constructive approach by the international community, with a view to further commitments towards the reduction of greenhouse gases, as called for by the proposed protocol to the Convention distributed this week to the Parties by the Alliance of Small Island States. Recent scientific reports have confirmed with certainty that global warming is occurring. More importantly, it is also clear that the industrialized countries must make greater cutbacks in emissions than were originally envisioned if there is to be any hope of avoiding disastrous consequences to much of the world - consequences which cynics were scoffing at only a few years ago. We welcomed with hope the coming into being of the climate-change Convention this past March and call upon all Members of the United Nations to be present as Parties when the Conference of the Parties to the Convention convenes in Berlin.

In keeping with its concern for the protection and sustainable use of the environment, the Federated States of Micronesia acceded in June to the Convention on Biological Diversity and is looking forward to the first Conference of the Parties this November, in the Bahamas. In this connection, my Government wishes to add its support to the request made at the last session of the Intergovernmental Group in Nairobi that work on a protocol on biosafety should begin without further delay. The question of ownership and access to *ex-situ* genetic resources not presently covered by the Convention must also be addressed as a matter of priority.

The concept of giving equal priority to the environment and to development is now widely accepted but remains in many ways difficult to implement. It will remain so for many years to come, even though all our best thinking is to be devoted to it. Sadly, even as we speak, the quality and stocks of our planet's natural resources are deteriorating at an accelerated pace due to past and current practices. If we are to succeed in confronting this challenge, the integrated efforts of the entire international community must call upon the assets that all countries - large and small, developed and developing - can bring to bear.

For example, sustainable living, which has been the way of island peoples for centuries, involves practices and techniques that are quite relevant to sustainable development in much of today's world. The canoes sailing across our crystal blue lagoons bring to mind a host of traditions of our people that involve clean use of the environment and highly effective resource-

management practices. We must approach sustainable development in a way that respects and builds on the age-old concept of sustainable living and takes full account of the wisdom that can be gleaned from indigenous cultures worldwide.

In other words, my country believes that not only is it important to have a common vision to combat climate change and promote sustainable development, but it is now incumbent upon us seriously to rethink our roles and how we can all play a vital part in restoring our environment. As a front-line country in terms of vulnerability, Micronesia recognizes that we cannot retreat into the position of treating global environmental issues only to the extent to which we think we are conveniently capable, without giving due consideration to their urgency and magnitude. Addressing this man-made catastrophe requires many more additional resources and a greater commitment, especially on the part of the developed world.

Our views on these issues are clear and simple: we are convinced that all our efforts are mounting up to a long-term investment for the survival and viability of our ecosystem, the common heritage of mankind. In assessing what has transpired so far in all related activities geared to this common objective, I cannot but say how fascinated I am with the enormous effort that has gone into these processes. The activities include the negotiations on the climate-change Convention, the biodiversity Convention, the desertification Convention and the Convention on the Law of the Sea, as well as the Conference on Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks, the Barbados Conference, the Cairo Conference on Population and Development, the Commission on Sustainable Development and the Global Environmental Facility. I cannot but believe that positive progress will emanate from this massive human energy and commitment, and that our future will be secured with this common vision. We are not only inhabitants of this planet, but custodians of its resources for future generations. I hope that the greed of mankind will not in the end triumph over the our inherent responsibility to leave for future generations an environment that is as habitable as the one we find today. Sustainable utilization of our natural resources may be the greatest gift that our present civilization can contribute to future humanity.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kyrgyzstan, Her Excellency Mrs. Rosa E. Otunbayeva.

Mrs. Otunbayeva (Kyrgyzstan) *(interpretation from Russian)*: I wish to congratulate the President on his appointment to this highly responsible and important post. My delegation will work constructively with him during the course of this, the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Since the end of the Second World War, the fiftieth anniversary of which we shall be celebrating next year, the world has been engaged in peace-building. It has been a long road, and it has not been without its dramatic moments. Over the past half century the world has come to the brink of nuclear war many times. Now, with the end of the cold war, with the dissolution of the bipolar world, a new challenge has arisen in the shape of a series of wars and conflicts based on ethnic and religious intolerance that have exploded in many different areas of the world.

In his report "An Agenda for Peace" the Secretary General spoke of the concentration of efforts towards preventive diplomacy, of steps for increasing international confidence-building and achieving early recognition of conflict situations. Such measures have taken on special importance in our countries with the fall of totalitarianism, because we have inherited many long-standing issues of conflict that had previously been hidden and suppressed by a regime of terror in the conditions of that time.

The United Nations, in our view, could play a leadership role in the study of typical conflict situations. It could systematize the approaches, principles and paths for the resolution of traditional issues of dispute such as border issues, the sharing or allocation of water and other natural resources, the self-determination of nations and territorial integrity, and the protection of minorities on the basis of ethnic, religious, linguistic and other differences. This would allow the United Nations to establish a legal basis for decisions that would help decrease the potential for new conflicts and aid in the resolution of existing problems. Only by following the highest authority of law, and only on the basis of international law, can we weave a solid fabric of peace throughout the planet, in all of its smallest corners, no matter how remote or provincial.

Violence and intolerance among people have led to unending war and bloodshed in the former Yugoslavia. The tragedy of Bosnia poses a challenge to all humankind. Fifty years ago the nations of this world, having united, put an end to nazism and genocide. Why

then are we now moving so slowly in the face of the violence that is obviously based on ethnic and religious discrimination and that is reverberating throughout the planet? We stand for a political settlement of conflicts. We call for both sides to put an end to the bloody slaughter. In our view, the recommendations of the Contact Group provide a way out of this crisis and hope that peace can be restored in the heart of Europe.

We greatly value the efforts of the Secretary-General, his Mission and the Observer Group of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to resolve issues peacefully in Tajikistan. We welcome the recently signed cease-fire in Tehran, in accordance with which hostilities have temporarily ceased and political prisoners and prisoners of war are being released. We have great hope for the gradual end of this crisis and for the unification of the Tajik peoples, who have experienced more than enough sorrow and suffering, for the return of all refugees to their homes and for the restoration of peace with our neighbours. We express this hope now, before the coming winter, and call upon all countries to render vitally important humanitarian aid to Tajikistan.

We are following with great concern and alarm the situation in Afghanistan and welcome the efforts towards settlement. The restoration of peace in that country and the achievement of national reconciliation would bring long-awaited peace to the Afghan people, who have suffered so much, and drastically improve the situation in our region of the world. That region is exhausted from gunfire and war. It is yearning for trade and a return to tilling the soil.

Notwithstanding the tremendous difficulties inherent in our search for peace and accord in that country, we urge the world not to give in either to moral or to donor fatigue. It is not possible to dodge responsibilities during this trying period because the deadly conflict in this country has been brought about by participation on many different sides. Afghanistan has a plethora of weapons. The country is prey to a non-stop and intensive arms race. Hope for peace can be guaranteed only if the internationai community devotes its unwavering attention and political will to unravelling the knot of the Afghan conflict.

That is why my country has consistently called for completion and effective implementation of the Register of Conventional Weapons. We support the initiative of the United States announced by President Clinton on the ratification of and support for General Assembly resolution 48/75 K of 16 December 1993 on a moratorium on the export of land-mines.

The Kyrgyz Republic has consistently stood for a comprehensive, effective reduction in conventional arms. We are actively and diligently working on the conversion of our defence industry to civilian production. Kyrgyzstan, as a non-nuclear State, signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and advocates transforming it into an agreement of unlimited duration. We welcome the efforts of all countries - and first and foremost the United States of America and France - to reach a consensus on the issue of a comprehensive nuclear-test ban.

We support the initiatives put forward by President Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan on confidence-building measures in Asia, and we envisage our region of Central Asia, located as it is between two nuclear Powers, as an area free of nuclear weapons. That would be our Central Asian treaty.

Our world, so full of anxiety and so weary, believes that hope for peace is not an illusion. I recall with great excitement the unseasonably warm day of 13 September 1993 at the White House in Washington when, after many years of conflict, a declaration of principles on Palestinian self-rule in Gaza and Jericho was signed by the Israeli Government and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

It is with great satisfaction and happiness that we see together with us in this Hall representatives of the Government of South Africa that was elected on a democratic basis. Let us stock up on patience. We can achieve breakthroughs and visible results on the difficult path to peace and concord only if we do not give in to fatalism.

United Nations peace-keeping efforts are achieving significant success in settling many of the conflicts of our time. We know that 75 countries are participating in 17 United Nations Missions overseeing the holding and monitoring of elections, rendering humanitarian assistance during disasters and restoring what has been destroyed, as well as ensuring a United Nations military and police presence. The issue of creating reserve peace-keeping forces has now been raised. From this rostrum we hear the commitment of dozens of countries to peace-keeping operations. We need the blue helmets of peace, not the mercenary black helmets of death which have

recently participated with increasing frequency in conflict zones around the world.

Fully aware that peace-keeping operations are an important factor in the future new world order, my country, with its highly qualified doctors, nurses, engineers and rescue workers, would like to participate in peace-keeping operations. We accept and support the proposals that many countries have made here at the General Assembly during discussions of peace-keeping issues with regard to the need and opportunities for conducting training of military and civilian personnel on both a multilateral and a bilateral basis. Such possibilities are also open to us as participants in the Partnership for Peace programme of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

As a country experiencing a period of emergency and in need of immediate assistance because of natural disasters and social hardships, we warmly support the proposal of Argentina's President Menem that a civilian service be created to provide immediate humanitarian assistance under the auspices of the United Nations.

Development is the main problem facing young democratic societies. Thirty years' experience of North-South collaboration has taught us, the new 1990s generation of independent countries, instructive lessons. It is easy for our achievements and our real advantages to become lost in the picture of the protracted drop in production levels and the destruction of the social infrastructure. The people of Kyrgyzstan are grateful to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and other institutions in the United Nations family that have sought to help us at this difficult time.

In the face of a sharp increase in drug trafficking, interwoven with transnational organized crime, first in our region and then through Russia to Europe and other continents, we need energetic and massive measures to block the drug-distribution routes and destroy production. The United Nations International Drug Control Programme has become truly critical in our region. As a whole, we would like to see greater action and coordination of the work of the United Nations specialized institutions with the new States, both at their headquarters and in their regional offices.

It is noteworthy that not only traditional developed countries, but also developing countries, which bear the burden of their own numerous economic and social problems, have helped in the establishment of the newly independent States and their entry into the world order. And this has particular significance. We are firmly convinced that the timely rendering of full-fledged, effective assistance to us - countries with transitional economies that must now choose their own paths at this difficult time - will help us to stand more quickly on our own two feet, form the foundation for a market economy and develop democratic foundations for society. We ourselves will then be able to render speedier assistance to the more needy. We support such a policy of reaching out towards solidarity, mutual support and collaboration.

Bearing in mind the close collaboration of countries with transitional economies with international financial and economic institutions, precise coordination and deeper interaction of the work of the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions are becoming increasingly necessary.

The Kyrgyz Republic welcomes and shares the objectives and fundamental parameters of development set forth in the preliminary report of the Secretary-General, "An Agenda for Development". These are peace, economic growth, the environment, justice and democracy.

The recent World Conference on Population and Development in Cairo and future Conferences on social development and the improvement of the status of women testify to the world's deep concern about the situation of basic human needs at the turn of the next century. If human rights are all-inclusive, universal and inalienable, then these rights also pertain to all women and children on Earth. The improvement of the status of women is key to resolving vital social problems such as those involving population, education and health care. In other words, it is the most important issue on the eve of the twenty-first century for an agenda for humanity.

In my country, we will fully support and are ready to cooperate with the newly appointed United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. We in Kyrgyzstan, a country in which over 80 ethnicities reside, seek to create equal and just conditions for all of our citizens. There are no restrictions on the development of culture, the arts, education or media in the languages of all ethnic groups. Along with an increase in mosques, the number of Orthodox and Protestant churches is growing. Committed to ideas of friendship and concord, we are consistently working on programmes and

measures to halt migration from our country and to preserve the present multi-ethnic composition of society. On the basis of the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities adopted at the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly, my country, together with the Russian Federation, cosponsored a CIS convention on the rights of ethnic minorities, which is currently open for ratification to all other Commonwealth members.

Democracy in my country is very fragile. Political pluralism, freedom of the press and speech, and adherence to human rights and fundamental freedoms in the Republic are not accidental gifts from above but genuine values for which a real struggle is being waged in society - the struggle between openness and isolation, blind force and respect for the law, totalitarian ways and commitment to freedom. But the people of Kyrgyzstan, headed by President Askar Akaev, having made its choice three years ago, firmly and unwaveringly stand for democracy and a market economy.

A tectonic political, social, and economic shift is taking place across the enormous Eurasian land mass. The success of the present transformations in Russia strengthens our own awareness of the irrevocability of the choice of the democratic way. Kyrgyzstan, like other nations of the Commonwealth of Independent States, is deeply committed to democracy, the principles of freedom and independence, and the philosophy and spirit of the creation of peace. My ancient people, yet still a young nation, like the "Manas" - a Kyrgyz epic poem of a million lines - the millennium of which we will celebrate in 1995, is undergoing a renaissance. We realize that a long and thorny path awaits us. But the most important thing on that path is peace, which is the same for everyone on this Earth and is indivisible.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* We have heard the last speaker in the general debate for this afternoon.

Several representatives have asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply; I would remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements made in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and five minutes for the second, and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. Matešić (Croatia): I apologize for speaking at this late hour, but I shall be brief.

My delegation wishes to respond to the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece during the general debate on Wednesday, 28 September. In particular, we wish to respond to the following comment in his statement:

> "The concentration of efforts aimed at ending the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina does not mean that less attention should be paid to a solution of the problem of the Krajinas, nor that its importance should be underestimated." *(Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings, 8th meeting, p. 24)*

While my delegation agrees with the general thrust of the Foreign Minister's comment, we are surprised by his reference to the so-called Krajinas. From the context, it is obvious that the reference is to a part of the internationally recognized territory of the Republic of Croatia. In this regard, my delegation wishes to stress that, within the Republic of Croatia, there are no administrative units called "Krajinas". Rather, this is a name that has been given by the Belgrade proxies to Serb-occupied territories of Croatia.

We wish to stress that the Security Council has stated in numerous resolutions that this territory is an integral part of the Republic of Croatia. My delegation was therefore surprised by the fact that a part of the territory of the Republic of Croatia was referred to in the manner mentioned above by the Greek Foreign Minister while, at the same time, he did not make reference to the Republic of Croatia when discussing the situation within Croatia. My delegation was all the more surprised by this as Greece has shown particular sensitivity to geographic and State names which it perceives as threatening its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The Republic of Croatia wishes to maintain the existing good relations that it has with Greece and applauds any constructive actions of the Greek Government that could help to resolve the crisis in our region in a just and equitable manner. However, it would seem only proper that Greece show consistency in its position on geographic names and not make references to parts of the internationally recognized territory of the Republic of Croatia in a manner that is not acceptable to the Croatian Government and which might be interpreted as putting into question the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia.

Mr. Laclaustra (Spain) *(interpretation from Spanish):* The Head of my delegation, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain, will have the opportunity tomorrow to congratulate the President of the General Assembly.

On this occasion, the Spanish delegation wishes to refer to the references made to the Spanish cities of Ceuta and Melilla in the statement made today by the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Morocco.

In my delegation's view, those references are inaccurate and inappropriate. They are inaccurate because these are Spanish Territories whose citizens are represented in the national parliament under the same conditions as all their compatriots. The references are inappropriate because they are not consistent with the good relations that exist between the Kingdom of Spain and the Kingdom of Morocco.

Mr. Kulla (Albania) *(interpretation from French):* The head of the Albanian delegation to the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session - the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Serreqi - in his statement to the Assembly, will convey the delegation's congratulations to Mr. Amara Essy of Côte d'Ivoire on his election as President of the Assembly for the session. For my part, I should like to take this opportunity to wish Mr. Essy all success in his noble mission.

I requested this opportunity to speak so that I might present my Government's views on statements made here yesterday by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece. Regrettably, those statements do not reflect the truth and the reality of the situation in my country. We deplore the fact that for a long time Greece, our neighbour, has doggedly refused to recognize the obvious political, economic and institutional transformations that have been carried out over the past three years by Albania's democratic Government. I refer in particular to the absurd analogy with the previous regime - an analogy that contrasts totally with all the reports of numerous international observers.

I should like to recall the fact that my Government has committed itself to the best possible treatment of national minorities in the Balkans. Respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all the citizens of Albania is the foundation of the country's legislation. What is even more important is that it is one of Albania's long-standing traditions.

Albania has committed itself to intensive economic reform and is confronting great difficulties. Several international institutions that are cooperating with us are completely satisfied with our economic reform, describing it as the most successful. In this context, we note with regret that Greece, although it is the only Balkan country in the European Union, has on several occasions used its veto to block the provision of Union aid to Albania, in an effort to make our transition even more arduous.

I should like to emphasize that, despite the rigid position adopted by Greece, the Government of Albania has left the door to dialogue open, considering this the only means of overcoming the crisis.

The meeting rose at 7.35 p.m.

United Nations

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General Assembly

Forty-ninth Session

Official Records

12th Meeting
Friday, 30 September 1994, 10 a.m.
New York

President: Mr. Essy ..... (Côte d'Ivoire)

The meeting was called to order a 10.25 a.m.

Address by Mr. Algirdas Mykolas Brazauskas, President of the Republic of Lithuania

The President *(interpretation from French)*: The Assembly will first hear an address by the President of the Republic of Lithuania.

Mr. Algirdas Mykolas Brazauskas, President of the Republic of Lithuania, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Lithuania, His Excellency Mr. Algirdas Mykolas Brazauskas, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Brazauskas *(spoke in Lithuanian; English text furnished by the delegation)*: I sincerely thank you, Sir, for the honour and opportunity of addressing this forum, and I extend my congratulations to you upon your election to lead the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

In this Hall, we see representatives of the entire world, a world in which there has been unprecedented global change. Our planet is growing more unified in all areas of life; economic and political integration is well under way. Nations, States and entire continents are drawing closer together. It is unfortunate that not all changes lead to progress. A new avalanche of problems confronts the United Nations and other international organizations, affecting rich and poor countries alike.

I fully concur with Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in his belief that today as never before our international community needs a new and forward-looking vision of our future. The time has long been ripe for us to discuss within the United Nations agenda the creation of a new and universal concept of development that would embrace peace, economic development, a clean environment, social justice and democratic governance as the five spokes supporting the wheel of humanity's progress. It is clear, I believe, that our generation must take up the task of rediscovering the world and building within it new, mutually supportive relationships. One of the fundamental instruments at our disposal in this global task is the United Nations.

On the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations, it is appropriate to recall the circumstances of its creation. It is important that we examine the strengths and weaknesses of the United Nations predecessor, the League of Nations. We must learn from this analysis so as to ensure that the United Nations shall not become a mere bystander to world events. It is true, of course, that the global situation today is fundamentally different from that which existed at the outbreak of the Second World War. We no longer suffer from the presence of dictatorial bandit States led by fanatics. But potential dangers exist today;

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they are multifaceted and have spread throughout the world.

Together we must overcome racism, hatred of foreigners, fanatical nationalism and intolerance. If we do not, these demons, once having manifested themselves in men, communities or entire nations, could destroy the entire world.

Today I would like to take note of a historic day for Lithuania, the Baltic States and all of Europe. It is all the more significant in that the General Assembly will discuss at this forty-ninth session, the complete withdrawal of foreign military forces from the territories of the Baltic States, as called for by a General Assembly resolution adopted at the forty-eighth session. On 31 August 1993 the withdrawal of the Russian military from Lithuania was completed, and exactly one year later the same historic event took place in Estonia and Latvia. That date also coincided with the withdrawal of Russian troops from Germany. This harmony of dates is more than merely symbolic: it marks the resolution of one more consequence of the Second World War.

Guided by the principles of the United Nations Charter, Lithuania continues to broaden its international relations in a consistent manner. The goals and priorities of our economic, social and foreign policies remain unchanged.

Lithuania seeks to secure democratic government and the principles of a free market, and at the same time to ensure the well-being of its people and the protection of minority rights. Lithuania is confronted with serious problems of a social character common to all young democracies.

Yet at the same time, we must also recognize what has already been accomplished. Lithuania has a stable currency. Inflation is under control. The private sector already employs the majority of the work force. A vibrant and innovative market continues to grow. After four years of dramatic decline, the standard of living has been stabilized, although it is still rather low. An attractive legal environment has been ensured for foreign investment.

We attach great value to the bilateral and multilateral assistance to the process of democracy-building and free-market reforms. Western interest in and attention to the restored democracies of Central Europe is vital not only for us, the recipients of such assistance, but for the future of a unified Europe. Today the future of the West can no longer be considered in isolation from developments in the East.

We benefit from successful cooperation with Estonia and Latvia, our closest neighbours, with whom we share a common history and common fate. This year a permanent body, the Baltic Council of Ministers, was established. But as we look to the future, this will not be enough. If the Baltic countries are to become integrated members of Europe, then the establishment of a common visa and economic space can only be the first step of many. It is imperative that our foreign and defence policies be even more closely coordinated and that we harmonize our legislation in accordance with the norms of the European Union.

I believe that all the countries of our region face new opportunities with the establishment of another cooperative body approximately one year ago: the Council of Baltic Sea States. This region has great potential. It is home to countries large and small, economically strong and less developed, that not so long ago were separated by the front lines of the cold war.

The Baltic Sea States are unified by many common goals as well as problems. Sadly, in recent days we have also shared a common tragedy. I wish to express my deepest condolences to the Governments of our neighbouring countries and to the people whose loved ones perished in the catastrophe that befell the ferry *M.S. Estonia*.

As I speak of our neighbours, I must also point to our relations with Belarus. We are heartened by the new possibilities of concluding a treaty on inter-State relations between our two countries. The signing of such a treaty will further secure the principle so valued by our nations: good-neighbourly relations.

Lithuania attaches particular importance to its relations with Russia. As neighbours, we are very interested - perhaps even more so than other countries - in the success of the democratic and free-market reforms in that country.

Russian relations with Lithuania and the other Baltic States today are a reflection of the current Russian position concerning the evolving European order, one in which old divisions are disappearing. We would like to hope that the new Russia will adhere to the principles of international law and will not obstruct the integration of the Baltic countries into European political, economic and

security structures. This would be a clear signal that the democratic reforms undertaken in Russia are irreversible and that new lines of division will not be drawn in Europe. It would reaffirm that Russia does not seek to isolate itself from the West and that, on the contrary, it trusts the West and seeks cooperation with it on an equal basis.

Given Lithuania's geopolitical situation and our economic opportunities, we can and are prepared to be a bridge between East and West. But I also want to emphasize that a future as a buffer State is completely unacceptable to us.

Several days ago, in his address to the Assembly, Russian President Yeltsin stated that it was essential to reject the imposition of one's will on weaker States and to build a new order, founded on law and morality. I express my hope that democratic Russia will adhere to these responsibilities and thus justify the growing trust of the international community in its future.

One year ago I said from this podium that Lithuania would welcome steps toward the gradual demilitarization of the Kaliningrad district. Today I can state with satisfaction that Russia is reducing its military presence in that area. Lithuania, whose territory is traversed by transit to this Russian enclave, is not indifferent to the future of the Kaliningrad district and the Lithuanian minority residing there. Occupying a unique place on the map of Europe, this Russian territory demands special attention. It could become a stone in the foundation of security and an attractive economic partner or, under less favourable conditions, a source or even exporter of military threat and unrest. Lithuania proposes to examine issues pertaining to the Kaliningrad district as part of the round-table mechanism established by the European Stability Pact. We hope that all interested parties will give their support to this initiative.

In concluding a fundamental bilateral Treaty with Poland this year, we have closed a chapter of our common history. From the start of the 1930s and the outbreak of conflict over Lithuania's capital of Vilnius, relations between us were tainted by open confrontation, a state of affairs still remembered in the halls of the Palais des Nations in Geneva. I believe that this Treaty, which recognizes and confirms the present borders of our countries, can be considered the final *rapprochement* for Lithuania and Poland. As we greet the future, Lithuanians and Poles will be able to make their rightful contribution to a unifying Europe.

We also strive to establish closer ties with other countries of Central Europe. We share not only a similar history, but also current problems and future goals. I am convinced that the convening of a meeting of the leaders of all Central European States in the very near future would benefit our countries. Such a conference would allow us to discuss our common reform experiences and our strategies for drawing closer to the European Union.

Participation in multilateral and international forums provides new opportunities for Lithuania. An ever-increasing number of important political decisions are today being reached in international organizations. This is especially beneficial for small and medium-sized States.

Lithuania sees the guarantee of its security, stability and well-being in joining European political, economic and security structures. Lithuania has always been an integral part of European civilization and culture. We have never lost our European heritage. Our recent 50-year separation from the world did not sever our roots. Our goal remains membership in the European Union. We have already concluded a free-trade agreement with the Union that should come into affect next year. We also expect soon to sign an agreement on associate membership with the Union.

Integration into the European Union cannot be considered in isolation from the broadening of qualitatively new ties with the Western European Union. Lithuania is an associate partner of this defence organization of ever-increasing importance. We believe the strengthening of the role of the Western European Union to be both logical and necessary.

I am also convinced that the security and stability of my country and the region demand closer cooperation with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Lithuania has presented its formal request for membership in that organization and will continue resolutely to seek the fulfilment of this goal. Lithuania's participation in the Partnership for Peace programme opens new avenues for Lithuanian cooperation in efforts with Europe, the United States and Canada in their endeavours to prevent conflict and maintain peace. We firmly hope that our active participation and that of other Central European States in the Partnership programme will have a positive impact on the broadening of NATO.

The expansion of NATO eastward would not pose a danger or threaten any European State. Russian fears

of isolation, I believe, are groundless. We welcome Russia's joining in the Partnership for Peace and hope that its participation in the programme will contribute to the strengthening of mutual trust and stability.

I should like to take note of several concerns of a more global character, the burden and urgency of which are particularly felt by the countries in transition. Our well-founded fears are heightened by the continuously growing gap between the developed and developing countries. Can we truly speak of a stable Europe when the hourly wages of a laborer in the European Union are equal to one day's pay in Central Europe and, in some countries of Eastern Europe, to a month's income? If this unfortunate tendency is allowed to continue, a wave of despondency and instability may overflow all barriers.

The young democracies of Central and Eastern Europe are confronted by dangers posed by organized crime, illegal migration and trafficking in narcotics and, most horribly, in nuclear materials. These are the unfortunate negative consequences of our rejoining the world; without the necessary experience, they are difficult to address. We require coordinated and concrete assistance.

We live not only in a time of great changes, but also in a world of great contrasts. As we celebrate the historic transformation of Europe, the stunning successes in the Middle East peace process and the end of apartheid in South Africa, we are nevertheless witnessing continuing tragedies and conflicts all over the world.

The efforts of the international community, expressed through the United Nations, do not always achieve their desired results. The main reason for this is the inability to enact decisive measures. This is particularly evident when large countries are for any reason drawn into local conflicts, leading to a clash of their global interests. In such cases, the timely removal of built-up tensions becomes difficult. If we fail to avoid conflict, its containment and reduction become painful and long-term, often leading to the death of Blue Helmets in the execution of their peace mission. It is therefore crucial that we join forces to improve the conflict prevention mechanism. In this regard, we support the initiative of Germany and the Netherlands to improve cooperative relations between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Every State must contribute in a tangible way towards the creation of a peaceful and stable world. This must be the responsibility of everyone. It would be inappropriate for any country to seek to achieve its own interests or expand its sphere of influence under the guise of peace-keeping missions. There are criteria which must be followed in this regard - namely, the principles of the United Nations and the CSCE. These principles must, in my opinion, apply to all countries, including the Russian Federation. We cannot agree to allowing countries to carry out peace-keeping missions in any given geographical space without the consent of the parties to the conflict or the proper international mandate. I would like to emphasize my conviction that the principles of international law must be adhered to by all States, small and large.

With the end of the cold war and the spread of democracy, old global divisions begin to disappear. It is vital that this continue. Those who believe that a new delineation of spheres of interest can bring stability to the world are mistaken. We who have felt the consequences of such divisions of influence can testify that this would only bring about new conflicts and upheaval.

The United Nations has a particular significance for small and medium-sized States - in other words, the majority of countries. These States suffer first when instability and mutual distrust take root in the world. In an anarchic world, guided only by an ad hoc order, small States are the first to fall victim to larger interests. Small States experience with considerable pain the negative side-effects of global changes; they are the true front-line States. We have only to look at the front pages of the world's newspapers. Bosnia, Rwanda, Tajikistan - all of these are small States struggling with tragic historical legacies.

At the same time, if there exist guarantees for their security, small States develop rapidly and bring their own contributions to the international community. I firmly adhere to my remarks, made a year ago in this Hall, that

> "the future of a more integrated world lies in democracy and the individuality of free nations." *(Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings, 7th meeting, p. 14)*

This individuality and diversity do not have to divide us. Quite the opposite - they will enrich us.

Lithuania became a Member of the United Nations three years ago. Until now, Lithuania was perhaps a passive recipient of the assistance and security this

membership provided. Today Lithuania seeks to contribute actively to the undertakings of the international community to strengthen security and stability throughout the world.

Together with Estonia and Latvia, Lithuania is in the process of establishing a Baltic peace-keeping battalion which will be fully operational in the very near future. With the consent of the Lithuanian Parliament, a group of Lithuanian peace-keepers, serving within a larger Danish battalion, is today a part of the United Nations Protection Force stationed in Croatia. I take this opportunity to thank Denmark and the other countries that provide continuous assistance in the creation of Lithuanian and Baltic peace-keeping units. In the future, within its financial capabilities, Lithuania will continue to participate in similar United Nations peace-keeping and humanitarian missions.

With the expansion of United Nations membership, the range of issues we are asked to discuss within the United Nations has also increased, imposing new responsibilities and new demands on the Organization. It is very important that the international community be properly represented in the Security Council. Lithuania therefore supports proposals to expand the membership of the Council, creating new permanent as well as non-permanent seats.

One of the principle guarantees of international stability is respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms and their development and defence. It was, of course, within the framework of the United Nations that the first landmark international human rights documents were adopted.

We believe the establishment of the office of High Commissioner for Human Rights to be a timely decision. The High Commissioner must become the overall coordinator of United Nations activities in the field of human rights. The world clearly needs an institution that can rapidly and effectively report human rights violations, particularly those which pose a danger of escalating into prolonged conflict. Such reporting would enhance the policy of preventive diplomacy.

Lithuania continues along the difficult road of reform, maintaining a relatively high human development index, as reflected in the United Nations Development Programme's 1994 report on human development, where it is in twenty-eighth place. We are well aware of the particular circumstances of this high ranking and of the fact that it is calculated with the use of rather distorted gross national product statistics. Unfortunately, the use of these distorted figures has led to excessive contributions to the United Nations and to a reduction in assistance provided.

At the same time, Lithuania, like other Central European countries, has despite the odds achieved a high level of development in education, science and culture. This, too, is reflected in the human development index. This state of affairs has two aspects. As Lithuania cannot effectively finance these areas from its own resources, an overall decline is unavoidable. Another possibility remains: with the help of the United Nations and other organizations, the decline may be halted in the fields of education, science and culture. If the existing foundation is protected, recovery in the economic and social fields will follow more rapidly. Adopting this second solution would be less costly and more effective than allowing a collapse of the system.

Lithuania, like other formerly central-command economies, has inherited environmentally damaging technologies. While we have witnessed political and economic change, the restoration of a balanced environment in our countries will take many years and require financial resources.

As the possessor of a powerful nuclear energy facility, Lithuania is particularly concerned about nuclear safety. Here, I wish to express our particular gratitude to Sweden and other Western European partners for assistance they provide to increase the safety of our nuclear energy programme.

Lithuania welcomes the increased attention that international environmental organizations are giving to the concerns of our region. I believe that combined efforts are capable of producing results much sooner than we first imagined. But, for this to occur, we must be assured that assistance provided by the United Nations will not be reduced. Of particular relevance to my country is the transfer of environmentally sound technology and know-how. An ecologically aware civilization must become the goal of our era.

If the international community does not provide the necessary assistance and cooperation the situation in our region could change for the worse. The countries of Central and Eastern Europe receive a small portion of the technical assistance provided by the United Nations, but it is employed in our region effectively and with visible results.

Here I should like to welcome the reforms initiated by the Secretary-General. We now see the first results of the restructuring, and we are satisfied with the progress. We are particularly encouraged by steps taken to increase managerial and policy-making accountability within the Secretariat, as well as the simplification and streamlining of the decision-making machinery. Lithuania supports and pledges its full cooperation with the new Office of Internal Oversight.

I would also draw attention to the fact that the United Nations Charter still contains certain outdated concepts concerning enemy States. These are a relic of the Second World War. Therefore, I believe Articles 53 and 107 of the Charter ought to be amended.

One of this year's most important international events was the International Conference on Population and Development held recently in Cairo. Next year the United Nations will continue the tradition of transcontinental forums. The world social Summit in Copenhagen will afford us an opportunity to put people's concerns at the centre of social policy. This is of particular relevance to countries whose economies are in transition, where people carry the burden of rapid economic, social and political change.

The World Conference on Women, to be held in Beijing, will address the key question of how, in times of awesome change, men and women can work together for a peaceful world in which equality and harmony will be the norm and reality of life.

At the beginning of my address I spoke of the wheel of human development being supported by five basic principles. Today we clearly face a time for decisions. Either that wheel will turn, slowly but surely, through the joint efforts of us all, taking us towards ever higher plains of progress, or it will stop turning, and if it stops it will inevitably begin to roll backwards - to chaos and barbarity.

As humanity crosses into a new millennium, we must not allow the wheel to stop turning. This demands the collective action of all States and peoples. That is why we must always remind ourselves that no organization in the world today can equal the authority, longevity, dynamism and vitality of the United Nations.

That which divided nations, States or continents cannot achieve alone they can and will achieve together as the United Nations. I am convinced of this, as there is no alternative.

The President *(interpretation from French):* On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Lithuania for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Algirdas Mykolas Brazauskas, President of the Republic of Lithuania, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Address by Mr. Rafael Caldera, President of the Republic of Venezuela

The President *(interpretation from French):* The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Venezuela.

Mr. Rafael Caldera, President of the Republic of Venezuela, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The President *(interpretation from French):* On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Venezuela, His Excellency Mr. Rafael Caldera, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President Caldera *(interpretation from Spanish):* On behalf of the Government and people of Venezuela, I wish to congratulate you, Sir, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Côte d'Ivoire, on your election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session. I am confident that under your guidance the Assembly will at this important session contribute to progress in the carrying out of the important task with which the Organization is charged - the constant quest for peace.

I also take pleasure in paying tribute to Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Secretary-General, whose intelligent and expert leadership have given the world fresh hope, as we are about to enter a new millennium, so that we may be optimistic about the future, even though there are still grounds for concern.

The twentieth century, which is drawing to a close, has witnessed momentous events for mankind. Two world wars, which cost an enormous number of human lives and immense physical, economic and cultural losses, demonstrated the extent to which man is capable of destruction - above all, self-destruction. The world's political map has been changed many times, with predictable consequences.

Science and technology have made remarkable progress. The discovery of antibiotics has provided undreamt-of opportunities for surgery. Surgeons have converted the human body into a fruitful field for operations capable of correcting natural defects and injuries arising from circumstances prevailing in an increasingly complex society. Life expectancy has risen steadily, and terrible endemic diseases that used to claim countless victims have vanished almost completely.

Communications have been the greatest marvel of this century. The twentieth century has been the era of radio broadcasting and television. Important events occurring in any part of the world are immediately known in the most distant regions. The fax has supplanted the mails and improved on the telegram and the telex. Communications are the principal reason why the inhabitants of this planet are gradually recognizing their role as members of a single, vast community of nations.

Of necessity, institutions have endeavoured to keep in step with the rapid and unremitting march of events. Both internal and international juridical norms are subject to constant change. Fundamental concepts of nationality and sovereignty are being reconsidered, and formulas are being sought so that inalienable and traditional rights may exist in harmony with the requirements of the supranational community. Amongst these values are the self-determination of nations and non-intervention, as laid down in the Preamble to our Constitution. Accordingly, Venezuela has been and remains permanently disposed to promoting the peaceful spread of democracy to every nation on Earth, and especially to those of our continent. We have consequently supported efforts aimed at reintroducing a fully democratic system in those Latin American countries where it is not at present established. Their situation is inevitably of deep concern to us by reason of history and natural affinities. For the same reason, though, Venezuela did not support military intervention in Haiti, despite the fact that the United Nations has lent it multilateral and institutional support.

At the same time, regional integration is expanding, with profound effect on the exercise of rights within every country. This process is rapidly leading to hemispheric and universal integration. For Latin Americans, the bicentennial of the birth of Antonio José de Sucre, the young man who consolidated our independence at the battle of Ayacucho, will provide an opportunity to reassert the unbreakable links of our solidarity. As we see it, the objective of the forthcoming meeting of Heads of State or Government, convened by the President of the United States, will be the encouragement of a genuinely democratic system in the American continent and throughout the world. It is our hope in this regard that there will be a commitment to fight without quarter against poverty and an effective agreement to stamp out corruption.

The United Nations has managed to avoid most of the obstacles that caused the failure of its immediate predecessor, the League of Nations. Next year it will celebrate its first 50 years of existence: a time in which, amidst contradictions and disappointments, it has provided a unique forum for constant dialogue, in every language and in the most contrasting tones. It has made uninterrupted progress and shown a willingness to accept the structural changes that changing times have imposed. For this reason we are awaiting further changes, such as the expansion of permanent representation on the Security Council to Latin America by granting Brazil permanent membership. Latin America has every right to this by virtue of its spiritual strength and its constant espousal of liberty and international friendship.

However, despite all the progress achieved, it is undeniable that we are still a very long way from having established a stable, universal peace or a harmonious coexistence amongst nations. Nor have we developed standards of living that permit all social strata in the various continents to enjoy a fitting human existence, with a satisfactory world-wide level of equity in social relations.

The struggle for human rights has spread significantly, and international treaties have been signed to ensure that protection of such rights transcends all borders. But the basic human right to life itself, the right to work and the right to have enough to eat for healthy living are far from having been secured for a considerable part of mankind.

The momentous International Conference on Population and Development, recently held in Cairo, seemed to be based on the assumption that it is impossible to guarantee development interpreted as participation by the whole human being and by all human beings in economic and social processes - if the population continues to increase. This is because many countries have not ensured, as is essential, that everyone who is born will have the means to enjoy a decent existence. In my country, at the beginning of the century, a time of manifest poverty and backwardness, there was a saying that every child was born with an

arepa under the arm. "Arepa" is a bread made of maize and is a popular staple of the daily diet. This saying has now dropped out of popular usage.

In spite of the dramatic repercussions of the events following the destruction of the Berlin Wall, peace has not yet been achieved. Just as we were ready to thrill with emotion at the arrival of universal peace, the Gulf War awakened us from that dream. Recent conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and in Rwanda, two countries so fundamentally different one from the other, have stirred up vestiges of barbarism that had supposedly disappeared for ever. Religious conflicts and ethnic antagonisms, thought to have been overcome once and for all, have re-emerged with unbelievable bitterness. Events recall the Biblical commentary of the Peruvian Victor Andrés Belaunde, an illustrious Latin American, greatly appreciated in the United Nations, who said that human beings bear the weight of a curse implicitly imposed by God when He cast them out of the Garden of Eden: Since they refused to be governed by God, they would have to govern themselves.

The United Nations faces a constant challenge: the quest for peace. It is clear that peace will not be achieved simply through political discussion or diplomatic negotiation, still less through the mere use of force. It has often been said by knowledgeable speakers that peace is the fruit of justice: that is, without some degree of justice, peace is unattainable.

That was understood by the negotiators at Versailles at the end of the First World War when they included in their Peace Treaty a lengthy clause devoted to the International Labour Organization and inspired by the notion of social justice. Undoubtedly, however, the need for justice goes far beyond international conventions and recommendations with regard to labour, and meeting that need is becoming a matter of increasing urgency.

The rapid process of globalization we are witnessing is unstoppable and unavoidable. The steps being taken in this direction are dictated by the state of today's world and the demands of the immediate and mid-term future. The conclusion of the Uruguay Round and the creation of the World Trade Organization represent undeniable progress for mankind. The bilateral and multilateral agreements reached on all continents are signs of progress and stimulate the creation and exchange of wealth. It is nevertheless essential to introduce into relations between States instruments that will prevent commercial interchange from becoming an economic war to the death. It is inappropriate to transfer to social relations the concept of the struggle for existence in the sense that nature itself, through this struggle, will automatically ensure the survival of the fittest - in other words, the absolute predominance of the strongest and the disappearance of the weakest. The acceptance of such an idea would be a crime against humanity.

It must be recognized that the United Nations and its important subsidiary bodies have made great efforts to alleviate the sufferings and shortages of those sectors of humanity where the standard of living is below what is deemed humanely indispensable. It is encouraging to note that institutions directly related to the United Nations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund recognize that the fight against poverty must be a top priority. It is not, however, enough to give humanitarian assistance to the neediest. It is essential to afford nations the conditions they require to enable all their inhabitants to compete efficiently, to ensure their healthy survival and to encourage their progress.

It is true that economic-liberalization measures in less-developed countries have produced positive macroeconomic results, but in some countries that point with satisfaction to the tremendous economic progress they have achieved one can note, at the same time, a growing concern about that portion of the population that is living in poverty and, even more distressing, in critical and even extreme poverty.

I share the aspiration voiced by the President of Colombia to a new model of development for our countries, for an "alternative model," as he put it when addressing the Assembly. He proposed the establishment of

> "a new and more productive citizen in the economy, a citizen who participates to a greater degree in politics and who is more supportive in the social sphere." *(Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 5th meeting, [p. 27])*

In recent years my country, Venezuela, has faced a difficult economic situation and disquieting social circumstances. Undeniably, the blame lies largely with us. Grievous mistakes in running the country and the poisonous plague of corruption are the principal causes of the acute crisis we are experiencing, but external factors have also played a part. I am not here to pronounce judgement on the past. As I have pledged to my compatriots, I must find ways of restoring the confidence

that is indispensable if coming generations are to be able, with training and hard work, to avail themselves of the opportunities the country has to offer. Serious institutional problems - such as the legal proceedings against two former Presidents of the Republic, one of whom was suspended from office while still President - have been handled within the legal system with strict adherence to the Constitution. The people's conduct has been truly exemplary. The natural resources with which providence has endowed us and the favourable prospects guaranteed by our human resource, our people, who have always demonstrated intelligence, creative audacity and courage in times of danger, inspire us with optimism. We realize that we must seek within ourselves the essential elements that will enable us to win the struggle for development to which we are so seriously committed. We have put forward an economic stabilization and recovery programme that has been in large part accepted. It lays out a feasible and clearly defined course that will ultimately lead to a solution of the crisis. However, we feel that we are in duty bound to explain to international forums, and most particularly to this world forum, the need for favourable prospects to open up that can help us to avoid exerting our efforts in vain and ensure instead that they will be successful and will contribute to a better future for mankind.

For example, when considering the need to strengthen trade relations throughout the world we must call for guaranteed access to the markets of the developed countries, where mechanisms are sometimes in place that are skillfully used to exclude our competition. We agree with the need for environmental protection for the benefit of the world's inhabitants, and we are certainly ready to contribute to that goal. However, we must make the point that on more than one occasion the ecological struggle for a healthy environment has been hypocritically used as a way to prevent developing countries from gaining access to the markets of wealthy nations. We further believe that transfer of technology must be wide ranging and genuine, for if it is not the gap between us and the developed countries, which increases every year, will ultimately become impossible to bridge and will lead to a sharp and bitter rift between two sectors of mankind, with unforeseeable but undoubtedly disastrous consequences.

Access to capital is a requirement that is becoming ever more acute as technological advances make productive processes more capital- and less labour-intensive. At the same time, there must be fair payment for the raw materials that represent the principal contribution of the underdeveloped countries to international trade but that are constantly losing their relevance in end products. Consequently, access to capital must be arranged on equitable terms to protect the interests of producers, who are often obliged to accept conditions that are little more than adhesion contracts. This struggle to obtain better prices for raw materials, which are almost invariably subject to conditions imposed by consumer countries without any real participation by the producers, and the establishment of reasonable terms for international loans are part of the struggle for justice and an integral part of the struggle for peace.

The external-debt problem of the developing countries is still far from being solved. It is true that there have been negotiations on restructuring and that they have temporarily alleviated the dreadful burden that problem represents for the debtor countries, but as the repayment deadlines fall due the burden for those in debt becomes harder to bear with the passing of every year. To cite a concrete example: in my country next year's debt servicing payments will amount to 35 per cent of the national budget, and in coming years the situation will become even more acute. The drop in the price of our main export has made it very difficult to meet the basic needs of our population. We have never given any thought to disavowing our obligations. We are resolved to meet them, but we consider that this subject must be placed on international agendas and that a search must begin for a broad solution that will open up new horizons of justice and peace.

I believe that as we approach the beginning of the second half of the United Nations first century the fundamental aim of the United Nations must be the search for justice in relations among peoples.

Social justice has been one of the most important achievements of this twentieth century that is now drawing to a close. This demands of every individual and every group whatever is required for the common good. Above and beyond the numerical equality of commutative justice, it also requires of all of us that we make a contribution to the community of nations in proportion to our individual possibilities. This concept has still not gained acceptance in the international field. It is true that there have been some minor concessions to the most needy countries but there is a lack of any clear course towards the achievement of universal well-being. It is not only States that should be the agents. Once the door was opened by the International Labour Organization (ILO), international organizations also provided access for unofficial bodies. The large transnational corporations which have and exercise real

power must become involved in the management of programmes that will seek peace through justice; economic justice in so far as it concerns them; and respect for the sovereignty of both large and small States.

Those of us who love freedom; those of us who have struggled to achieve it, regardless of cost and sacrifice; those of us who consider democracy and respect for human rights as priority objectives; those of us who sincerely yearn for friendship and fruitful understanding among all nations; those of us who believe in dialogue and resolutely support the endeavours of the United Nations to encourage it - all of us desire to see the United Nations displaying unflinching determination that the search for justice - and I shall never tire of repeating this - must play a key role in the building of peace.

If peace is our goal let us strive to make justice its foundation. In this way we shall realize the ideal which our Liberator, Simon Bolivar, visualized as the most important goal of the best system of government: "the greatest possible degree of happiness", in other words, happiness for all.

The President *(interpretation from French):* On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Venezuela for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Rafael Caldera, President of the Republic of Venezuela, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

Agenda Item 9 *(continued)*

General Debate

The President *(interpretation from French)*: The first speaker in the resumed general debate is the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of Cambodia, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sirivudh, on whom I now call.

Prince Norodom Sirivudh (Cambodia) *(interpretation from French)*: On this solemn occasion allow me first to convey to you, Sir, on behalf of the Cambodian delegation, heartfelt congratulations on your election to the presidency of the United Nations General Assembly at its forty-ninth session. Your election is very important because it is a tribute not only to your diplomatic skills, to someone experienced in international affairs, but also to the tireless work done by Côte d'Ivoire, your glorious country, for peace.

I am delighted to take this opportunity to convey to your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Samuel Insanally, our satisfaction at the exemplary way in which he presided over the work of last year's session of the General Assembly.

We wish also to congratulate the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, on the many efforts he has constantly made for peace and security throughout the world since he has been at the head of the Organization. The Kingdom of Cambodia reiterates its firm support to the Secretary-General.

(spoke in English)

It gives me particular pride to be here today as the representative of the Kingdom of Cambodia. The Royal Government under the First Prime Minister, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Ranariddh, and the Second Prime Minister, Samdech Hun Sen, was installed as the legitimate Government of Cambodia a little more than a year ago, on 24 September 1993, through the foresight, generosity and courage of the Members of the United Nations and the bravery of the Cambodian people in choosing, through United Nations-sponsored elections, a liberal democracy, building up national reconciliation under the high guidance of His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk.

I have come here today to represent the Cambodian people in expressing our warmest gratitude to the Members of the United Nations for their wonderful gift of freedom. After 23 years of war Cambodia is now at peace and able to start to move towards development, social justice and prosperity. This has not been an easy task because our financial base is still very low. As a member of the group of least developed countries, Cambodia remains one of the poorest countries in the world and a large proportion of its people are saddled with crushing poverty. But, again, the United Nations is at our side. The Bretton Woods institutions are helping us to re-establish a solid fiscal base and the specialized agencies have almost all moved in to assist development and strengthen our institutions.

In the economic field, there has been some progress over the past few years. According to the 1992 report, the inflation rate was estimated to be 300 per cent, but in 1993 it dropped to 70 per cent. This year our local currency is very stable: 1 dollar is equal to 2,500 riels. Bilateral donors have also been generous, and as assistance moves from the area of emergency

rehabilitation to that of reconstruction, achievements are beginning to be noted.

However, the most important of the Royal Government's priorities for reconstruction and rural development have unfortunately lagged behind other kinds of development. The constraints of distance, an infrastructure ruined by two decades of war and a continuing insurgency have hampered efforts, but in our second year of office, the Government, together with our friends, will tackle those problems. Infrastructure can be rebuilt, and our king, His Majesty Norodom Sihanouk, is leading the move for reconciliation with the insurgents, the so-called Khmer Rouge group, who do not recognize the United Nations-sponsored elections and continue to challenge the legally elected democratic government, and above all have rejected the cease-fire that has been proposed through His Majesty's tireless efforts.

Please allow me to reiterate, on behalf of all the people of Cambodia, our deep and lasting gratitude to all of the States Members of the United Nations and to the individual bilateral donors who have so generously supported reconstruction in our country, both through the United Nations and its institutions, and through their pledges at the first and second ministerial meetings of the Intergovernmental Committees on the Reconstruction of Cambodia (ICORC), held in Paris and Tokyo respectively. With the assistance of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) we have now developed our first country programme, which will be presented to the Executive Board of UNDP on 6 October 1994.

The UNDP is also assisting us to reform the civil administration within Cambodia.

Many other specialized agencies of the United Nations are also doing excellent work within the country: the United Nations Population Fund, the United Nations Children's Fund, the International Labour Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the World Food Programme, to name a few.

Cambodia has itself been through the holocaust of tyranny, invasion and internal disturbances. Our National Assembly is now in the process of restoring Cambodia as a judicial State where human rights, political pluralism, liberal democracy and, above all, freedom of expression are respected, as envisaged in our Constitution. To this end, we have been grateful for the support and encouragement of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, whose close cooperation with the Cambodian Government has helped us in our task of re-establishing law and confidence in the country.

Cambodia is the only country in the region to have asked the Secretary-General of the United Nations to dispatch a special representative for human rights. In comparison with the twenty years of war and totalitarianism under the previous regimes, progress has been made. We also appreciate the early visit of the newly appointed United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights, the Honorable José Ayala Lasso.

Because of our own terrible experiences, Cambodia feels to the depths of its soul for the plight of the ordinary people in Rwanda. We congratulate the international community for its intervention in Rwanda and we are pleased to see that the situation is now stabilized. In particular, we wish to applaud and commend the French for the rapid action they took to help put an end to the killing and suffering of the Rwandese people.

On the same basis, Cambodia wishes to call on the rival factions in the former Yugoslavia to stop their fighting and cooperate with the United Nations. Cambodia is, of course, well acquainted with the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General in the former Yugoslavia, His Excellency Mr. Yasushi Akashi, and is full of admiration for, and confidence in, his efforts to restore peace and security to the people of that troubled region.

Again, from the Cambodian experience of using democratic elections as a catalyst for peace, we wish to congratulate the people of South Africa and the new democratic government led by President Nelson Mandela, on their move towards a normalization of the lives of the people and on the return of South Africa to the world's embrace.

Cambodia fully supports the Geneva Declaration of 12 August 1994 between the United States of America and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and hopes that the Declaration will be fully and sincerely implemented. Cambodia strongly supports the earnest desires of the Korean people who, in the not-too-distant future, will bring their beloved country towards full reunification.

Cambodia welcomed the just initiative taken by the international community on the question of Haiti to avoid bloodshed and to oversee the smooth transition to a democratically elected government. Cambodia calls on the people of Haiti to work towards the national reconciliation and development of their country under the democratically elected president, Jean Bertrand Aristide.

We pray for an end to the senseless killing in Afghanistan, so that the Afghan people may be able to resume their normal lives and rebuild and develop their war-torn nation.

We are pleased to see the political outcome in Northern Ireland and hope that peace and happiness will soon return to that beautiful land.

The situation in the Middle East has brought us great joy. The peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinian people is the most encouraging historical event of our time.

The recent accord between Israel and Jordan is definitely the right step towards peace, security and stability in that region. We encourage others to follow the example of this discussion for a peaceful world.

Cambodia is situated in south-east Asia, in the Asia-Pacific region. As we have moved towards development and prosperity for the Kingdom we have welcomed the friendship of the member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), which invited Cambodia to be a special guest for the second time at the twenty-seventh annual ministerial meeting held in Bangkok in July 1994. At an appropriate time, Cambodia looks forward with great enthusiasm to full membership in ASEAN. We will be delighted to see all 10 countries of our subregion one day join in the great ASEAN family. This will be a positive development for harmony and security in our part of the world. ASEAN has done a great deal for Cambodia during our difficult years, and for this we are eternally grateful to all of its six distinguished members: Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Cambodia also welcomes the positive developments around the continuing growth of the Asia Pacific Economic Community. To use the economic achievements of the most prosperous of the nations of our wider region as a springboard for further growth, peace and stability is something that Cambodia highly values.

(spoke in French)

In addition to the constant efforts made by the Cambodian authorities to rebuild our country after the disastrous 20 years of war, Cambodia also aspires to rejoin the international community as a State of law.

The policy of neutrality and peaceful coexistence advocated by His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk since the period of *Sangkum Reastr Niyum* - People's Socialist Community - which lasted from the 1950s to the 1970s, remains the key to our foreign policy in order to promote peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region.

Cambodia is committed to development and peace for the well-being of our people, and we heartily welcome the important appeal by Mr. Clinton, President of the United States, for the elimination of anti-personnel land-mines throughout the world, as the *sine qua non* for development and lasting peace. Our people bear the scars of these deadly practices, and a sincere commitment from the international community would save the lives of innocent men, women and children throughout the world. We would like to take this opportunity to thank sincerely all donor countries for their generous contributions to the Cambodian Mine Action Centre (CMAC).

The globalization of national socio-cultural policies can be harmonious only if there is close and sincere cooperation between the industrialized countries and the developing countries. Hence, we wish to pay tribute to the international community for its support for the International Committee to Save the Temples of Angkor Wat, in particular, the valuable work done by UNESCO and the *École Française d'extrème orient*. The temples of Angkor Wat, one of the seven wonders of the world, have been designated the common heritage of mankind.

Cambodia is also concerned about environmental issues, and will be signing the Agreement to Combat Desertification in Paris.

Cambodia welcomes the convening of the World Summit for Social Development, to be held in Copenhagen, and the World Conference on Women, to be held in Beijing next year. We give particular attention to the development of our human sources, because of its implications for the process of social stabilization. Cambodia will actively participate in the work of these summits.

Cambodia welcomes the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations and has already set up a national committee to participate in various events to be held next year.

Before concluding, I wish to voice sincere gratitude to the United Nations for the deployment of peace-keeping forces, and Cambodia takes this opportunity to inform the international community that it will make available its small peace-keeping forces at the request of this Organization.

In conclusion, Cambodia remains convinced that Member States will respond to emergencies and will meet their obligations. Cambodia is solemnly committed to complying with the United Nations Charter.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain, His Excellency Mr. Javier Solana.

Mr. Solana (Spain) *(interpretation from Spanish):* I should like to convey to you, Sir, my warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of this Assembly and to wish you great success in the performance of your duties. With your election, the members of the General Assembly recognize in your country, Côte d'Ivoire, the decisive contribution of Africa to the work of the Organization. I am confident that the General Assembly will follow the course of consensus that was set in the previous session, under the leadership of Ambassador Insanally, to whom I should like to pay a warm tribute.

Moreover, I wish to once again assure Mr. Boutros-Ghali, who honoured us last April with his official visit to my country, of the full cooperation of the Spanish authorities in assisting him in the difficult task he faces of meeting the increasingly complex challenges with which our Organization is faced.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, in his address on behalf of the European Union, has set forth our common points of view in this general debate. These reflect the advances made on the path to a common foreign and security policy, which is a major goal of the Union. On behalf of my delegation, I wish now to consider some issues in more detail.

The fundamental changes in the international system that we have witnessed in recent years have provided the United Nations with the great opportunity finally to establish itself as the venue for the universal harmonization of the efforts of the international community to fulfil the common purposes contained in its Charter. However, they have also confronted the Organization with one of the greatest challenges in its history. Some have even cast doubt on the actual ability of the United Nations to contribute effectively to the solution of the many conflicts that have arisen or have been rekindled over the past few years.

After the first shock, provoked by crises such as those in the former Yugoslavia, Somalia and Angola, we have been confronted with appalling situations such as that in Rwanda, where the Organization's limited means have unfortunately proved insufficient to redress the plight of millions of human beings.

At the same time, the United Nations, with its resources stretched to the limit, is undergoing a financial crisis which can be addressed only with the resolute cooperation of the Member States. This should entail, first of all, the timely payment of their financial contributions, an obligation specified in the Charter. Only then will the Organization have the necessary means to achieve its objectives. Moreover, these means must be used in the most effective possible way.

Beyond the efforts for renewal already achieved or in progress, we must undertake a process of careful consideration at the highest level, with a view to deciding whether we are willing to provide the Organization with the legal, material and financial instruments it needs to meet successfully the growing demands made on it by the international community. The credibility of the United Nations is at stake.

The reform of the Security Council is an extremely important and complex matter, which will have to be accomplished through a careful process of dialogue leading to an understanding among all Member States.

Spain, which in the last two years has been a non-permanent member of the Security Council, reiterates its position in favour of a revision, without undue haste, of the composition and functioning of the Security Council, based on the criteria of representativity, efficiency and transparency, with the ultimate goal of reinforcing the legitimacy of the actions of the Council.

Spain, which has taken and will continue to take an active part in the meetings of the Ad Hoc Working Group of this Assembly, favours a moderate increase of the Council's membership. This would allow for a more

frequent presence in the Council of States with specific weight and influence in international relations, and which are, likewise, able and willing to contribute in a significant way to the maintenance of international peace and security and to fulfil the other purposes of the United Nations. The enlarged composition of the Council will also facilitate equitable geographical distribution among the different regions of the world.

Frightening events, such as those in Rwanda, make it more necessary than ever to continue the strengthening of the indispensable machinery for action required to execute the increasingly broad and complex mandates given by the Security Council to peace-keeping operations.

First of all, we must further improve the management and control mechanisms here in New York. The Secretariat has already made a major effort to strengthen the Department of Peace-keeping Operations by adding a Situation Centre, enlarging the Office of the Military Adviser and giving a boost to the planning unit.

Secondly, in order to speed up the effective launching of operations, the provisions relating to standby arrangements for peace-keeping should come into effect. Spain is prepared to participate in this mechanism, which should be broadened to include the police components of peace operations, as well as transport-related equipment and logistics in general.

Thirdly, it is important to face the issues relating to the safety of the personnel of the peace-keeping operations. Many casualties have been suffered by United Nations forces and humanitarian-assistance personnel, among them Spanish nationals who gave their lives in the quest for peace.

The setting up of an Ad Hoc Committee on the safety and security of United Nations and associated personnel, in particular those involved in peace-keeping operations, has been a step in the right direction, and we hope that the draft international convention on this matter will be adopted.

Notwithstanding the continuous efforts of the international community and of many of the political forces in the area, peace has not yet arrived in the Balkans. It is true that developments have occurred that give us cause for hope. We have witnessed a new international cohesiveness, which we must preserve at all costs. A rapprochement has taken place between the Croat and Muslim communities, which has led to the agreements reached on federation. I am pleased to underscore the important role that the European Union is playing in the town of Mostar as a contribution to this process. Spain is actively participating in this effort; this is the area in which the Spanish contingent in the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) is carrying out its mission.

We welcome the establishment of the International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia. We trust that the experience gained by this ad hoc tribunal will serve as an incentive to the General Assembly to give favourable consideration to the proposed statute of an international criminal court, a permanent body with universal jurisdiction, which was drafted by the International Law Commission, and that this idea - which is not new - will come to fruition very soon.

Spain welcomes the process of political and economic transition in which the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are currently involved. Their future accession to the European Union and their progressive integration in the security mechanisms of the continent will contribute to the stability of Europe.

We are also witnessing important moves towards democracy and a free-market economy in the Russian Federation and in the other States that emerged from the former Soviet Union. Spain supports these changes, as their success will contribute not only to strengthening security in Europe but to world peace as well.

The community of Ibero-American nations has endowed itself with a political forum of considerable importance; this year, in Cartagena, Colombia, it once again voiced satisfaction at the progress made on the path to democracy and economic modernization.

Wherever internal armed conflicts are still active, as in Guatemala, we are witnessing a negotiation process promoted by and under the auspices of the United Nations, with the assistance of the "Group of Friends". Both the Government of Guatemala and the *Unidad revolucionaria nacional Guatemalteca* (URNG) are fully engaged in this process, with the ultimate goal of achieving national reconciliation and full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The delicate situation in Cuba calls for an additional effort to promote dialogue and cooperation to make possible the final incorporation of both the Government and the people of Cuba into the democratic current that is flowing through the continent at the present time. Dialogue is essential. Inventive solutions among Cubans, without excluding anyone, should be encouraged, with a view to opening up new democratic possibilities leading to a peaceful transition, with due respect for human rights, national sovereignty and fundamental freedoms. The Government of Spain, which remains opposed to the embargo that has been imposed, notes with satisfaction the talks taking place between Washington and Havana, where these issues can be addressed.

The Government of Spain is attentively following the situation in Haiti, with a view to the full implementation of Security Council resolutions 917 (1994) and 940 (1994), which will involve the return of the President legitimately elected by the Haitian people. The international community will have to concentrate its efforts on the reconstruction of the country, so that democracy may rest on solid foundations guaranteeing constitutional rule of law and respect for human rights.

Spain attaches particular importance to the establishment of a new process of dialogue and cooperation in the Mediterranean that will make it possible to tackle the economic, demographic and cultural differences existing in the region, and to bring peace and prosperity to the Mediterranean area.

My country has special ties of friendship and cooperation with the Maghreb countries and is striving to make a practical contribution to overcoming the problems existing in this area, to which Spain attaches great priority.

The Spanish Government considers that the solution to the problem of the Western Sahara lies in the holding of a referendum on self-determination with all appropriate international guarantees. My Government again expresses its support for the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in their efforts to ensure progress in implementing the settlement plan accepted by the parties and, in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions, creating the necessary conditions for the forthcoming holding of the referendum to which I have referred.

The Spanish Government has expressed on many occasions, its profound satisfaction at the progress achieved in the Middle East peace process, which started at the Madrid Conference. Thanks to the determination and courage of the interested parties, 1994 has been a year of significant achievements on the path to peace and understanding. Spain has always supported the need for a lasting and comprehensive peace, in conformity with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Spain urges the parties and all the States in the region, on the basis of their clear and unanimous rejection of violence and the use of force, to coordinate all efforts necessary to attain the desired goals of peace and development.

This year, we have witnessed events of remarkable importance in sub-Saharan Africa. Some have struck a markedly hopeful note, whereas others - such as the tragedy of Rwanda and the difficulties in the peace process in Somalia - have demonstrated the fragility of the continent's structures.

Rwanda has appalled us. We have witnessed the horrors of civil war with a feeling of bitterness and even of impotence. Despite the efforts of the international community, in which my country is actively participating, no solution is yet in sight to this crisis or to the problem posed by the millions of displaced people and refugees - a problem which, moreover, is having serious repercussions on the stability of the neighbouring countries.

Those responsible for the atrocities, including genocide, committed in Rwanda must be brought to justice individually. Hence, Spain supports the work of the Commission of Experts established under Security Council resolution 935 (1994), which we actively promoted and co-sponsored, as well as the work of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Special Rapporteur for Rwanda. These events are extremely serious and we must make an urgent legal response to them through the establishment of an ad hoc jurisdiction for Rwanda, following the model already provided by the Tribunal established to deal with the former Yugoslavia.

South Africa has been the other side of the coin. We are gratified at its return to the General Assembly as a full-fledged Member of the United Nations, now that the apartheid system has been abolished and a democratic and non-racial Government has been installed.

In southern Africa, likewise, we are following with the greatest interest, because of their importance, the processes aimed at peace in Angola and Mozambique. We hope that the Angolan Government and UNITA will

shortly conclude a lasting peace agreement that will put an end to decades of suffering. We hope that in Mozambique the coming elections will consolidate national reconciliation. Spain will contribute to the peaceful and democratic holding of these elections by sending observers.

The decolonization of Gibraltar is a priority goal of the Spanish Government. The General Assembly has clearly established the doctrine that the decolonization of Gibraltar is a case not of self-determination but of the restoration of Spain's territorial integrity. I wish here to reiterate the Spanish Government's firm resolve to continue the process of negotiation with the Government of the United Kingdom, in a constructive spirit and on the bases of the Declaration of Brussels of 27 November 1984, taking duly into account the legitimate interests of the population. The Government of Spain expresses its profound hope that these negotiations will put an end to this colonial anachronism.

Disarmament and arms control are fundamental factors in the maintenance of international peace and security. Accordingly, during this year Spain has adopted a unilateral moratorium on the export of anti-personnel land-mines, has ratified the 1980 Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects and was among the first States to ratify the chemical weapons Convention. We also support the unconditional and indefinite extension of the non-proliferation Treaty and the early conclusion of a nuclear test-ban treaty.

Moreover, Spain hopes that a final decision on the enlargement of the membership of the Conference on Disarmament will be adopted shortly, thereby allowing for the full participation of countries which, like Spain, have demonstrated for many years their full commitment to the work of the Conference.

The close relationship between peace and development is especially well reflected in the report on agenda for development submitted last May by the Secretary-General. I wish to state my satisfaction at the publication of this report. We share the approach presented by the Secretary-General, which is based on the principle that development is a fundamental right and the strongest foundation for peace. We welcome the idea of defining the five principal dimensions of development that are set forth in the agenda - that is, peace as the basic foundation, the economy as the engine of progress, the environment as a basis for sustainability, justice as a pillar of society, and democracy as a guarantor of good governance.

We must now determine what actions are required in order to implement the agenda and formulate specific recommendations on the assumption that development cannot be reduced to a simple economic dimension, but must, rather, be considered from its political, cultural, environmental, social and humanitarian angles. Only by means of this comprehensive approach will we be able to tackle the deep inequalities and serious problems affecting developing countries.

Furthermore, the financial resources devoted to this end should be used in a more rational and efficient way. To achieve this, we must continue to restructure the economic and social sectors of the Organization and of the United Nations system, particularly by strengthening even further the coordinating role of the Economic and Social Council.

In activities to promote development the protection of the environment should always be taken into account. Starting next year, Spain will participate in the work of the Commission on Sustainable Development, which at its last session dealt for the first time with the implementation of "Agenda 21" and of other agreements reached at the Rio Summit.

The global conferences convened by the United Nations play an outstanding role in the search for universal consensus on development. The Programme of Action adopted in Cairo by the International Conference on Population and Development will pave the way for a new demographic policy, and places women at the axis of every population policy. The key role played by women in development will also be highlighted during the Fourth World Conference on Women, to be held in Beijing in September 1995.

The World Summit for Social Development, which will be convened in Copenhagen in March 1995, must, likewise, direct us to a new way of facing social problems in the world, based on the principle that human beings should be the core and ultimate goal of development.

Nobody can doubt the importance of the protection, promotion and defence of human rights as fundamental tasks of both Member States and the United Nations. Intolerance, inequalities of all kinds and violations of fundamental rights still endanger the lives, the freedom

and the safety of millions of human beings. In order to eradicate these evils, we must honour the commitments undertaken during the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights and redouble our efforts to put into practice principles that, although universally acknowledged, are not universally observed.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, the office which was created by this Assembly last year, and whose first incumbent is Ambassador Ayala Lasso, must be able to perform his duties properly. To this end, it is essential to ensure that he has the adequate budgetary means and sufficient personnel, as well as the support and cooperation of all Member States. Such personnel and additional means should also be made available to the Centre for Human Rights.

In 1995 we shall commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations. This will be an opportunity to reflect both on the Organization's accomplishments - which are not negligible - and on the challenges it will face. We live in an increasingly complex and dynamic international society, in which it is no longer possible totally to separate national issues from international ones, nor to divide the tasks of the Organization into watertight compartments. Mankind's full development will be achieved only when its multiple aspects, which are complementary and interdependent, are taken into account. The path to a better world, in which the United Nations continues to play a fundamental role, must be taken together by all the peoples of the world, as we are reminded by the motto of the fiftieth-anniversary commemoration. That is also the firm conviction of the Government and the people of Spain.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt, His Excellency Mr. Amre Moussa. I invite him to make his statement.

Mr. Moussa (Egypt) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: Mr. President, at the outset, I should like to extend to you, brother Minister Amara Essy our congratulations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. Allow me also to extend through you our congratulations to the sisterly country Côte d'Ivoire, with which Egypt enjoys bonds of friendship and cooperation. I take this opportunity also to commend your predecessor, Ambassador Insanally, the representative of Guyana.

I would be remiss if I did not pay special tribute to Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who is conducting with his well-known acumen and ability the work of this Organization amid turbulent political waves and rapid international changes, and in the face of rising expectations regarding the role that the United Nations could play in the world of today and tomorrow.

As we know, earlier this month, the International Conference on Population and Development was held in Cairo. We in Egypt are greatly satisfied that the Conference concluded with a Programme of Action that deals with population questions from their cultural and development perspectives, on the basis of a profound understanding of the various dimensions of this problem.

Undoubtedly, the clamour that accompanied that Conference was justified. Quite rightly, some have called attention to the fact that as the cultures of various nations differ from each other, there is no justification whatsoever to the imposition on any nation of a way of life it does not approve of, a way of thinking it does not palate or practices which it does not accept. On top of all that, there is the need to respect all religions, and to take into account the virtues they preach and the guidelines they embody for the conduct of individuals and nations.

It might be important in this connection to refer to the consecutive conferences that have been held in the 1990s to deal with the social aspects of development. We believe that henceforth, the attention of developing countries and of all other societies should be focused on dealing with these aspects. This is what all peoples of the world have aspired after throughout the long years of international conflict which led to social and economic convulsions that resulted in backwardness, misery and untold suffering for millions of people.

While we emphasize our interest in this approach that relates to social development and its global character, we also believe that the role of the United Nations therein is highly significant. Undoubtedly, the United Nations sponsorship of international conferences to this end consolidates its role in shaping the world of tomorrow, which must be a world of equitable development, collective security and social stability.

I have made a point of beginning my statement by addressing the social dimension, in order to underline a new tendency and a renewed awareness of this significant aspect of international life. I call upon all countries to accord that aspect the high priority it has denied for decades, during the cold war with its international conflicts that impacted negatively, not only on the social

agenda, but also on international action in that respect and beclouded people's awareness of its significance and effects.

During the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly, Egypt called for a new international social contract, to be formulated by all the world cultures and societies, so that it may act as a safety valve for the international community both now and in future. Realization of this vision will require, first and foremost, the creation of an appropriate international social environment, that would be inspired by the specific and distinctive characteristics of all societies and that would enrich the heritage of mankind. This could be done only through awareness of and respect for the integration and interaction of cultures.

Proceeding from its awareness of the movement of history, Egypt was the first to sow the seeds of peace in the Middle East. Today, Egypt is determined to continue to assist all parties to overcome the obstacles that impede negotiations, and to lay the foundations of new, just and secure conditions in the Middle East.

You may recall that last year, on behalf of my country, I called on the Governments and peoples of the Middle East to reflect on the future of our relations after the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. My call was based on the deep-seated Egyptian conviction that the only guarantee of a durable and stable peace in the Middle East is organically linked to the extent of the parties' success in working out and laying the foundations of a new relationship between the countries of the region that would be based on a threefold foundation of political settlement, socio-economic development, and regional security and arms control.

In dealing with our vision of a new Middle East, I am going to deal with each of those underpinnings in a context that has to do with the creation of a new situation which would allow all the creative energies of the region to be unleashed in a climate of security, stability and confidence in the future.

I speak first of political settlement. Last year, we met here a few days after the signing of the historic agreement between President Arafat and Prime Minister Rabin in September 1993. Under that agreement, the Israeli and Palestinian parties mutually recognized each other and agreed on a Declaration of Principles regarding the arrangements of interim self-government. The wave of optimism that was generated at the time was tempered by the customary caution which lasted until an agreement enforcing the Declaration of Principles was signed in Cairo on 4 May 1994. That agreement constituted a significant step on the long road of peace towards the exercise by the Palestinian people of their legitimate national rights.

The sight of the Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat entering Gaza on 1 July 1994 has thus epitomized the long history of the Palestinian people's sacrifices and steadfastness, with which they gained the support and sympathy of all peace- and justice-loving peoples everywhere. President Arafat's return was the first dividend of the peace option that heightened international respect for the Palestinian people's responsible position and courageous decision at this historical and crucial juncture in their long struggle.

Allow me to pay tribute from this rostrum to the advocates of peace, on both the Palestinian and the Israeli sides. At the same time, I call upon both sides to continue to tend the shoot of peace until it becomes stronger and more deeply rooted. Moreover, I call for the expeditious adoption of new concrete measures that would assure the Palestinian people in the occupied West Bank that the peace dividends will embrace all the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967.

One of the most important of such measures is the alleviation of the burden of occupation and mitigation of the daily suffering of the Palestinian people. The organization of Palestinian elections in all the Palestinian territories would enable them to move from the first step of self-government in Gaza and Jericho towards the exercise of their full political rights, in the framework of self-determination that is the appropriate and genuine resolution of this conflict. Moreover, I appeal to both sides, in equally strong terms, to confront all acts of violence and practices of terrorism firmly and persistently to ensure safety for all and guarantee that peace will have the upper hand.

Egypt has commended the progress achieved on the Jordanian-Israeli track. The 25 July 1994 agreement to put an end to the state of war between the two countries is a positive landmark on the road to peace. Egypt welcomes this significant step and is confident that the rising momentum will soon help achieve tangible progress on the Syrian and Lebanese tracks, based on full withdrawal from the occupied territories of both countries.

Secondly, I wish to speak of economic development. Scrutiny of the Middle East situation makes it clear that there is an organic link between peace and development in that region, whose peace and security are pivotal to the world's peace and security. The laying of the groundwork for the social and economic development of the countries of that region is a necessary step, without which peace will remain meaningless and pointless. At the same time, the process of development can be successful only within the context of balanced and well-planned strategies that take into account the interests of all parties. In this regard, hopes are high and prospects are spacious enough. Nevertheless there is no room in all this for the domination by one economy of another. The Middle East can accommodate a comprehensive process of the production and marketing of all that each country of the region can excel in.

Egypt, which is undergoing at present a stage of radical economic reform that aims at ensuring for its trade, industry and private sector a significant breakthrough, is qualified to play a leading role in the economic development of the region. This should enhance the image of the Middle East as a region that attracts increasing tourism, flourishing trade and thriving investment, side by side with an advanced productive capacity. We nominate the Middle East to be the cradle of new economic giants.

Egypt does not seek opportunities of rapid gains, but rather an advanced economic framework that would contribute significantly to changing the climate of the Middle East and reshaping the region's ability to contribute to the interactions of the developed world economy.

Thirdly, I speak of regional security and arms control. Comprehensive peace, in its wider sense, will never be upheld in the Middle East unless we change our old perceptions. These were the products of years of wars and enmity that engendered the belief that security could be assured only through the acquisition and stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction. This regional arms race, that plagued the region and accelerated in a climate of mutual suspicion and hostility, must be tamed in order that we may adapt to the new realities prevailing in the region. Egypt believes that peace in the Middle East must be strengthened by taking arms-control measures, of which the first would be a reduction of the levels of armaments.

The region's experience has shown that a higher level of quantitative or qualitative armament, in the case of any country has never deterred aggression nor guaranteed security. If such experience is reason enough for reassessing our policies in this respect, the political achievements which have put us squarely on the road to peace make us question the wisdom of escalating armament under conditions of peace.

If the first prerequisite is arms reduction, the second is the achievement of a better security balance amongst the countries of the region. The emergence of a new more stable Middle East will never take place unless we renounce the concepts of military superiority and agree to rid the region of the weapons of mass destruction. The persistence of such concepts can only jeopardize the existent possibility of creating a new and different Middle East. Any disruption of the security balance in the region, is bound to generate suspicions that may cause the region to slide once again into competition, escalation, dispute, conflict and confrontation.

If we are seeking normal relations between the parties, we have to ensure the co-equality of the obligations of all countries in the region. It is unacceptable that one party, to the exclusion of all others, should be accorded a special exceptional status. Unless this is addressed, serious cracks will develop in the foundations we are laying which may deepen and widen, and undermine the whole edifice.

Proceeding from this, the Egyptian initiative launched by President Mubarak in April 1990, in which he proposed that the Middle East should be declared a zone free of weapons of mass destruction, was commensurate with the concepts of the new international era at the regional level and came as a natural extension of Egypt's 1974 initiative to declare the Middle East a nuclear-weapons-free zone.

In this regard, Egypt strongly urges all countries of the region to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and accept the application of the safeguards regime of the International Atomic Energy Agency. This, if it takes place, will be a major step towards peace and reconciliation in the Middle East that would safeguard against any setbacks in future regional relations. Egypt attaches great importance to Israel's rapid undertaking of this step as we approach the date of the Conference for the Review and Extension of the non-proliferation Treaty in 1995. Otherwise, the extension of this Treaty, which aims at halting nuclear proliferation, would lead to the consecration of an adverse reality that is neither balanced nor proper and which runs counter to the principle of

universality. We would find the persistence of such an exceptional situation strange and unacceptable.

Egypt takes this opportunity to urge Israel to respond positively to this extremely earnest call which safeguards the region against the evils of an unnecessary arms race. It is a step that would help strengthen regional security. In this era of peace, we should rethink our priorities and view the prerequisites of security from a different point of view based on the new relations of peace instead of from considerations which had the upper hand at a time of regional conflicts. Israel should also conform to, rather than depart from, the international way of thinking that calls for universal adherence to the non-proliferation Treaty. We adamantly insist on this in order to avoid a race in this dangerous field.

While discussing issues of general concern to our world and its problems, I must also refer specifically to the prevailing situations in our region that create turbulence, problems, hopes and pain. Brotherly Yemen is healing its wounds after discord and strife. We are hopeful that sufficient patience will be demonstrated to bring about national reconciliation in accordance with the values of the Yemeni people and in such a way as to ensure their continued march towards development and prosperity.

In Iraq, the brotherly Iraqi people remain in the grip of the tragedy that befell them and we look forward with them to the day when their suffering will come to an end. This would require the Government of Iraq to respond to the demands of international legality and the unambiguous and formal recognition of the identity of Kuwait, its sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence.

While addressing the issues of the Middle East, we call on Iran to extend good-neighbourliness to its Arab brethren. In this regard, serious work is needed to resolve the problem of the occupied Arab islands in the Gulf. This would represent a positive indication that relations in the region can be conducted on the basis of a positive dialogue dealing with the political tendencies that are a source of concern in various parts of the region.

I turn now to Egypt's closest neighbours in the region. In this connection, I may say that the people and Government of Libya have now the clear political will to put an end to the Libyan-Western crisis concerning Lockerbie by putting the accused on trial and attempting to reach practical solutions for the implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions. An objective view of the problem confirms the importance of respecting international legality since the trial of persons accused of an international crime is a necessity and the more expeditiously it takes place the better it is for the process of justice.

Similarly, in addressing the issues pertaining to its neighbours, we must also mention Sudan, with which we have had very special ties since the dawn of history. Today, Sudan is suffering from a challenge to its sovereignty in the south as well as an impediment to the development and prosperity of its people. In both instances, Egypt stands firmly and clearly in support of the unity and territorial integrity of Sudan. We cannot accept its fragmentation or division. With the same strength and clarity, Egypt supports the right of the Sudanese people to a tranquil and stable life that would afford them the opportunity to look to the future. In this framework, Sudan has a well-known history of tolerance and cordial relations amongst its people and with all its neighbours and brethren. There is no doubt that Sudan's implementation of policies in this direction would ensure a change in the strained relations in that region.

During Egypt's chairmanship of the Organization of African Unity, which expired in June, the African continent witnessed a number of important achievements, the most important of which was the success of the organization in creating a mechanism for the prevention, management and resolution of African conflicts. This is a development that contributes to the international efforts deployed in that area. It also complements the role of the United Nations within the framework of the principles and objectives of the Charter.

Over the same period, Africa has also witnessed the entry into force of the convention establishing the African Economic Community. This represents a significant step by the African continent towards the realization of economic integration, which will enable it to deal with the new international economic realities and to face up to the potential consequences of international economic developments that may not be entirely in the interests of the African States. Moreover, we in Africa are currently studying, in all earnestness, the social and economic situation in the continent. We are fully aware of the high priority of this problem to Africa's present and future generations. This will be the subject of a special meeting of African foreign ministers soon to be held in Cairo.

The African continent's share of human tragedies has been abundant enough, as demonstrated by the horrendous events in Somalia, Burundi and Rwanda.

While Africa reaffirms its principal responsibility to deal with such sorrowful events by providing the necessary troops to undertake peace-keeping and peace-building operations, experience has shown that the humanitarian, political and economic dimensions of such events require a positive contribution by the entire international community, primarily within the context of the United Nations. Such contribution has been forthcoming and represents a unique international and regional solidarity.

As regards Somalia, the tragedy is still unfolding, despite strenuous African and international efforts to achieve national reconciliation between the warring Somali factions. The crisis remains elusive owing to tribal rivalries and self-centered interests. The persistence of this situation has further frustrated the international community, to the extent that a number of States have decided to withdraw their troops from the peace-keeping operation or to call for the complete termination of the United Nations Operation in Somalia.

We are fully aware of the motives that have led to such decisions and proposals, and we emphasize that the responsibility for putting an end to the current deteriorating situation in Somalia and for reaching a solution to the crisis rests essentially with the leaders of the warring factions. We are of the view that it is unacceptable and unwarranted that the major Powers should impose a certain solution or a particular leader in Somalia. At the same time, we cannot wash our hands of this problem. There is still an obligation on the part of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States to assist in achieving a just settlement to the crisis.

From Somalia we turn to Angola, in which recent developments indicate a glimmer of hope that a final and peaceful solution may be close at hand. Egypt welcomes the official acceptance by the Government of Angola of the proposals concerning national reconciliation. We call for the intensification of efforts to achieve peace in order that the Lusaka Conference may succeed and for the full implementation of the peace agreement, as well as Security Council resolutions 864 (1993) and 932 (1994). We also strongly urge UNITA to show its goodwill by negotiating constructively to reach a peace agreement without delay.

It was our hope that a just solution to the Bosnian crisis would be found before the commencement of this session. Unfortunately, the painful reality is that the crisis is still with us. While we accept the position of the Contact Group in its proposal of the peace plan which has been accepted by the Bosnian Government regardless of its shortcomings, yet we demand the most basic level of rationality and justice in managing this crisis. Frankly speaking, we believe that lifting or easing the sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Serbia and Montenegro - without deploying credible and capable international observers along its borders with Bosnia and Herzegovina or securing its recognition of Bosnia as a sovereign State amounts to a negative development that is bound to hinder a just settlement, that bespeaks acquiescence in considerations that run counter to the norms of justice and is tantamount to surrender to the policies of aggression and racism.

A few days ago, the Security Council adopted a rather hasty resolution easing the sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Serbia and Montenegro. It would have been more useful if the Council had given priority to a review of the extent of the implementation of its many previous resolutions, adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter. Those resolutions contain provisions and requirements that should have been implemented prior to any consideration of the easing or reviewing of sanctions.

The rules of international justice should not be twisted to reward the aggressor for mere promises that lack credibility or effectiveness. Moreover, the effectiveness of the observers currently deployed on the Bosnian-Yugoslav border is highly questionable. Indeed, in our view, they are ineffective and insufficient.

Egypt, as a country contributing troops to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), reiterates that the purpose of the presence of these troops is to provide genuine protection for those areas until such time as the Bosnian armed forces would be in a position to undertake the task of defending their territory.

The withdrawal of UNPROFOR while the power vacuum continues - an idea that is being floated - would be a further step towards handing the protected areas to the aggressors, who have the necessary power to control them. This would certainly have negative implications for international relations as a whole.

We are at a unique juncture in history: our generation has been afforded an opportunity to lay the foundations of a new era. Today, as we approach the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, we feel that all nations, industrial and developing alike, must contribute to the development of a common vision of the new world order - a vision that will consolidate the foundations of

our common future on the principles of democracy, humanity and equality, arrived at through consensus by all members of the international community.

We wish to make it clear that any attempt to marginalize the role of the developing countries in formulating the global vision for the coming era would involve the risk of drawing new lines of confrontation in place of those that existed during the cold war. Those new lines of confrontation would be ruled by economic and developmental criteria and considerations that may ring down a curtain thick enough to separate the North from the South, deepen disagreement between them, and give rise to a situation inconsistent with the interdependence and cohesion of the present era. In this connection, I refer to demands of the developing countries voiced during the meeting held in Cairo this summer under the umbrella of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations coincides with the flagging of initiatives and proposals for the restructuring of the Organization's mechanisms. Such efforts will never rise to the level of expectations unless they are preceded by an effort to reform our thinking, to bring it into line with the changes in the international situation and thereby to translate the new collective vision into a concrete programme of action that would be based on genuine consensus and that would afford us a real opportunity to ensure the stability of international relations.

In this context, it is needless to point out that such a process of thought reform as the one I have just referred to must impact on our efforts as we embark on the process of restructuring the United Nations and, in particular, of reforming the Security Council with its extensive competence.

We must emphasize several points regarding the process of reforming the work of the Security Council. First, it must be carried out on a regional basis, not on a specific-country basis. Secondly, the new seats - and there may be two additional ones each for Latin America, Asia and Africa - must be allocated on the basis of the criteria stipulated in the Charter. Thirdly, it is not essential at this stage to specify the two States from each region that are to occupy the additional seats. The principle of rotation could be applied to several States satisfying the criteria agreed upon, taking into account the specific characteristics of each region. Fourthly, agreement must be reached simultaneously on a number of issues concerning reform of the Council's working methods and procedures and the need to increase its transparency. Fifthly, the framework within which the right of veto is used should be reviewed and defined.

We should not pursue our work in this regard under pressure of time or on the assumption that consideration of the matter must be concluded by the time designated for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations.

Finally, it must be emphasized that rational restructuring is infinitely preferable to what might result from a hasty decision that may please some States, upset the overwhelming majority of States that suffer from lack of representation in the Security Council and put the Council itself in a position of extreme lack of credibility.

In this regard, I wish to state that a number of countries are eligible for membership of the Security Council in accordance with the criteria to which I have referred. One of those countries is Egypt, which has made significant contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security in all the political, economic and social fields, and which continues to contribute to the cause of peace and prosperity at the regional level and in the context of its various affiliations.

Economic clout has become the principal tool of competition and the determining factor in the distribution of power and influence on the political and economic map of the globe. At the same time, social development has become a goal which we all pursue and technological development has become a prerequisite of economic progress and social advancement. It is a challenge that must be faced by those who aspire to progress and development.

Recent international developments have highlighted the strong link between peace, stability and development. Global stability cannot be achieved without balanced and sustainable development. The existing structural imbalances in international economic relations will continue to cause the social turmoil and conflicts that turn under our eyes to disputes which threaten international peace and security.

Mr. Ben Yahia (Tunisia), Vice-President, took the chair.

On its new journey - starting in New York, moving on to Rio de Janeiro and Vienna, passing through Cairo to be continued in Copenhagen and Beijing - the United

Nations has proved that it remains the global umbrella under which different ideas and positions interact.

We call on the United Nations not only to contribute to but to lead the process of formulating the new concepts and ideas required to lay the foundations of the new international order and the relations between the North and the South, particularly in the area of social development. This requires an overall process of rationalization, as indicated by the Secretary-General. In his current report on the work of the Organization he refers to

> "the common misperception of the United Nations as an organization dedicated primarily to peace-keeping." *(A/49/1, para. 1)*

He states that economic and social questions should be at the forefront of United Nations efforts. That is what should happen.

The President *(interpretation from French):* The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey, His Excellency Mr. Mümtaz Soysal.

Mr. Soysal (Turkey): Allow me to congratulate the President on his election to his high office, and to thank the outgoing President, His Excellency Mr. Samuel Insanally, for his wise leadership during the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

Many had hoped that the fall of the Berlin Wall would put an end to the divisions of the world and usher in a new era of peace and harmony among nations. This has not happened. Today humanity faces a new division or fragmentation far more dramatic in essence. The world is torn between hope and despair. This is the new division we are facing.

On the one hand, hope: the spirit of democracy is kept alive. The global commitment to the universal principles of respect for human rights, the rule of law and fundamental freedoms has been maintained.

On the other hand, despair: the eruption of long-suppressed evil forces, such as ethnic and xenophobic nationalism, racism and tribalism, has caused new conflicts. They have emerged as new threats to international peace and security.

On the darkest side, there are new instances of genocide. Slogans of racial hatred have resurfaced. Hundreds of thousands of people have been killed or wounded; hundreds of thousands of people have become refugees or displaced persons. Human dignity has been violated.

On the brightest side, historic breakthroughs have been achieved in South Africa and the Middle East. The courageous stand of some eminent statesmen has been instrumental in translating the basic vision of the United Nations into reality. In this respect, our praise goes to the leaders of Palestine, Israel and South Africa for their courage and far-sightedness. Their bold steps towards peace fostered our optimism to counter the negative trends.

In order to be able to plan a better future, we must take account of the achievements and the failures of the past and meet the challenges of the present. The time has come to start to contemplate realistically how to create new and workable mechanisms to respond effectively to the challenges of our times. But we first have to accept the fact that euphoria is almost always short-lived.

Today we observe two contradictory trends, one towards fragmentation and conflict and the other towards globalization and cooperation. This new dialectic defines the framework within which we have to work together to find a balance between optimism and pessimism, between the integrity of the nation-State and the demands of an ever more interdependent world.

This Organization was built on the ashes of the Second World War. The war's aftermath left its imprint not only on the United Nations Charter, but also on the rules that govern its work and its structure. Hence, the crucial challenge before us today is to make the United Nations the real centre of universal solidarity, by improving its effectiveness and harmonizing its work with these new imperatives. It is in line with this reasoning that we attach the utmost importance to the process of reform and restructuring of the United Nations.

In this exercise, the pivotal point should be the Security Council. The widespread demands to make that principal body more representative, more responsive, more transparent and more accountable have imposed upon us a historic task which we must fulfil. The democratization of the Security Council is a challenge of our times, one that requires an adequate response. The moral authority of this body needs to be reinforced. We have to enhance the representative weight of the Security Council by enlarging it and by establishing a fairer and

more orderly system of rotation within the geographical groups.

We must make sure that the Security Council is not perceived as a tool of a small group of big States that seek to impose their will and their national policy objectives on others. Indeed, the moral and legal authority of the Security Council's decisions emanates from the fact that the Council, in accordance with Article 24 of the Charter, acts on behalf of all States Members of the United Nations. Consequently, it is essential that the working methods of the Security Council be reviewed to reflect the spirit of democratization.

With this understanding, my country, Turkey, has been actively participating in the deliberations of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council. We expect this Working Group to become a genuine driving force for real reform of the Security Council. Therefore, any "quick-fix" solution in which the reform may be interpreted in a rather narrow sense cannot be accepted. In the same vein, we also fully support the efforts under way to revitalize and rationalize the work of the General Assembly as the central and universal deliberative forum.

The ongoing conflicts and tragedies all over the world underscore the urgency of our task of strengthening the United Nations, particularly in the field of collective security. In the past five years, United Nations peace-keeping operations have undergone considerable expansion. The nature of peace-keeping is changing. Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-enforcement, peace-building and global human security have emerged as new concepts on which further reflection is needed.

As an active participant in the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations, Turkey believes that their success depends ultimately on the support and assistance received from the community of nations. This, in turn, requires the awareness of a sense of shared responsibility in addressing our common concerns.

The United Nations stand-by forces, in which we have decided to participate, would play an essential role in promoting such awareness. Only when a potential aggressor clearly perceives that the international community will retaliate in a timely and effective manner might it change its behaviour.

The challenges we are facing today go beyond the means and resources of a single organization. Accordingly, there is a need for a new collective security architecture of mutually-reinforcing institutions in which all elements would have a role to play. The interaction between global security and regional security requires effective cooperation and coordination among the United Nations and regional organizations. One thing is clear: only the United Nations can provide legitimacy to regional arrangements and institutions in the fields of peace-keeping and peacemaking.

From Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Caucasus to Rwanda, the peoples of the world, faced with threats of racist hatred, are desperately demanding the helping hand and protection of the United Nations.

Regrettably, the tragedy of Bosnia and Herzegovina has continued to be at the top of the international agenda during the past 12 months. Despite numerous Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, the international community has been able neither to put an end to the ethnic cleansing, nor to roll back the brutal aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the contrary, the lack of effective enforcement measures has encouraged the aggressors to proceed further with their genocidal campaign and their blatant defiance of international law.

Decisive and firm action to stop the aggression is long overdue. The Washington and Vienna Agreements laid down the foundation for a just and viable peace in Bosnia. These Agreements define the framework of a federation which preserves the territorial integrity and unity of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a multicultural, multireligious and multi-ethnic State. They are also open to the participation of Bosnian Serbs.

The Bosnian Government accepted the latest international peace plan proposed by the five-nation Contact Group in the spirit of peace. However, the extremist Serbs, longing for an ethnically homogeneous Greater Serbia, have insisted on their defiance of the will of the international community and have rejected the peace plan. Their rejection has demonstrated, yet again, that aggression cannot be halted on the shifting sands of promises and declarations.

The five-nation Contact Group has committed itself, in case of rejection, to the tightening of sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro. We deeply regret that the Security Council, by adopting resolution 943 (1994) on

23 September 1994, moved in the opposite direction despite the efforts of the Contact Group of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Once again, aggression has been rewarded. Genocide remains unchecked. The Bosnian people are yet again completely disappointed with the international system. Their disappointment is shared more and more by the rest of the world, especially in the Islamic countries.

We have arrived at a critical juncture. The international community should stand by its commitments and should begin to act resolutely. We have to admit that only diplomacy backed by sufficient force can make the extremist Serbs realize that war gives them more pain than gain. There should be no further easing of the sanctions until Serbia and Montenegro recognize all the successor States within their international borders.

As winter approaches, the need to provide security, shelter and humanitarian assistance to the civilian population becomes ever more pressing. The safe areas should be extended and effectively protected by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). The strangulation of Sarajevo should be ended. The humanitarian corridors should remain open.

As a matter of principle, the Bosnian Government must be provided with all the means necessary for self-defence, so that it may exercise its inherent right under Article 51 of the Charter. This is a moral, legal and political obligation on the part of the international community - but primarily a moral one.

President Izetbegović, in his address at the 7th plenary meeting, on 27 September 1994, from this rostrum, announced a new formula in this respect. On the condition that certain conditions be fulfilled, he limited his just demand for the lifting of the arms embargo to the adoption of a formal decision, deferring the implementation of the decision for six months. This is a new sacrifice motivated by the international community's inability to provide security for the victims or to recognize their basic right to self-defence. We must praise this noble gesture and support the new formula.

Realization of the commitments to a just and viable peace in Bosnia - commitments that have so far remained unfulfilled - is vital for the restoration of the credibility and moral authority of the United Nations. If we fail the test of history in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the so-called "new world order" could turn into a permanent "new world disorder".

We are witnessing further potential threats to the peace and stability of the Balkans. With the increasing tension between Greece and Albania there is, regrettably, a risk that yet another crisis may be created in the region. In addition, the Republic of Macedonia is suffering from an illegal economic blockade imposed by Greece. Moreover, Macedonia is still waiting to be represented at the United Nations under the name and the flag it has chosen.

The Balkans can in no way stand the pressure of additional tensions. Compliance with the basic international norms - respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-intervention in internal affairs, and the need to resolve disputes by peaceful means rather than by threat or coercion - is today more than ever before a pressing need in the Balkans.

My country lies at the very epicentre of the vast geography and the new geopolitics of Eurasia. Most of the conflicts which are high on the international agenda are taking place around Turkey. Fully aware of our responsibilities for the peace and stability of our region and beyond, we are trying to contain conflicts.

We seek to reverse destabilizing currents. We strive to promote the rule of law and democracy on our periphery. We remain a factor for stability. We believe that regional economic cooperation is a driving force for shared prosperity and increased confidence among nations as well as the most effective way to prevent the spread of ethnic conflicts and potential hegemonic tendencies.

With this awareness, we have developed new creative and cooperative regional initiatives to enhance solidarity and to consolidate the new geopolitical pluralism. We have established the Black Sea Economic Cooperation with Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, the Republic of Moldova, Romania, the Russian Federation and Ukraine. The Economic Cooperation Organization, originally founded by Turkey, Iran and Pakistan, has been enlarged to include Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

Another blatant example of defiance of international law has been unfolding in the Caucasus, where Armenian forces continue to occupy one-fifth of Azerbaijani territory. More than a million Azerbaijanis have been displaced. Constant calls by the international community for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of occupying forces, as stipulated in relevant Security

Council resolutions, have fallen on deaf ears. This unlawful situation, created by Armenians, constitutes a serious threat not only to the stability of the region neighbouring Turkey, but also to international peace and security.

As a member of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) Minsk Group since its inception, Turkey remains committed to the CSCE peace process. We firmly believe that a solution should be found through collective efforts under the authority of the CSCE. In this respect, we fully support the endeavours of the Chairman of the Minsk Group to organize a multinational force to assist the parties to reach a just and lasting solution. We stand ready to contribute to these endeavours.

In this context, I should like to reiterate our consistent and firm position, which we have expressed from this rostrum on many occasions: Neither in the Balkans nor in the Caucasus, nor, for that matter, anywhere else, will Turkey ever accept the acquisition of territory by force. Nor will Turkey ever allow misinformation and unashamed official propaganda - even from this rostrum - to continue to lead the international community to tolerate and perpetuate the living conditions imposed upon the Turkish people of Cyprus.

Turkish Cypriots remain totally isolated in their part of the island because of innumerable restrictions that Governments and international organizations have placed on their trade, travel, cultural and sporting contacts with the rest of the world. This arbitrary embargo is maintained as a result of a relentless campaign to distort the facts relating to the history of events on the island over the last 31 years. Even a United Nations-sponsored confidence-building package, which was aimed at partially alleviating the ill effects of this embargo, was deliberately torpedoed by the short-sighted policies of the other side, and, unfortunately, prospects for a just and durable settlement have been further eroded.

A realistic and viable negotiated settlement continues to be the objective of the Turkish Cypriot side. We support this, and we believe that the only way towards a comprehensive solution of the question of Cyprus lies in removing the obstacles to the confidence-building measures.

As a neighbouring country, Turkey follows very closely developments in Georgia. We look forward to the restoration of peaceful conditions in that friendly country and stand prepared to participate in the concerted international action within the framework of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia.

Turkey has set out on a lasting path of solidarity with the newly independent Central Asian republics, with which it has historic, cultural and linguistic ties. Turkey fully supports the efforts of those secular republics to build pluralistic societies and will assist them in integrating into the world community. I should like to underscore that Turkey's relationship between sovereign countries is one of cooperation and solidarity; it is a relationship between sovereign countries. It is neither in competition with, nor exclusive of, other countries' relations with them.

We attach great importance to the unity and territorial integrity of Afghanistan. We had hoped that a broad-based national reconciliation process including all groups could have started. However, we have been greatly dismayed by the resumption of armed conflict. We once again call upon all the Afghan parties to put an end to the fratricidal fighting and start working for the establishment of internal peace so that the rehabilitation and reconstruction of this devastated country can begin.

In the Middle East, the end of the cold war has fundamentally altered the bleak picture and opened new horizons for peace. The Israeli-Palestinian agreement and the ensuing Israeli-Jordanian agreements have opened up a new era in which enmity is giving way to reconciliation and despair to hope.

The historic breakthrough in the peace process, which promises concord and cooperation between the Palestinians and Israel, and between Israel and its Arab neighbours, will undoubtedly have positive ramifications on a much wider regional and global scale. The establishment of permanent peace in the Middle East will also create the necessary conditions for harmony, economic cooperation and shared prosperity.

As a country neighbouring the Middle East, Turkey has a record of constructive involvement in the region's affairs and good traditional ties with all the parties. It is actively participating in all tracks of multilateral negotiations. It remains ready to contribute to the economic restructuring efforts of the Palestinians in Gaza and Jericho. It will take part in the temporary international presence upon the request of the parties. I should like to reaffirm our strong support for the process towards a just and lasting peace in the region.

The rather optimistic prospects for the future of the Middle East need to be tempered, however, with a degree of realism, in the face of the hardship the Iraqi people have been suffering. Four years after the outbreak of the Gulf crisis they are still waiting to return to normality. We are fully aware of the fact that, in order to take its rightful place in the international community, Iraq has to comply with all the relevant Security Council resolutions. However, we cannot and should not turn a blind eye to the fact that Iraq has almost completed its compliance with the disarmament requirements under Security Council resolution 687 (1991) and deserves encouragement in this respect.

It should also be borne in mind that the sanctions have caused great economic problems not only for the Iraqi people but also for a number of countries, especially Iraq's neighbours. The great economic losses of the most adversely affected countries, particularly mine - Turkey - still have to be addressed.

Here, I must also underline once again our principled stand that we will remain committed to the territorial integrity and unity of Iraq, which are vital for peace and stability in the Middle East.

The elimination of apartheid in South Africa closed a long and dark chapter in the history of humanity. Apart from South Africa, the picture is still gloomy in many parts of Africa. The United Nations conducts half of its peace-keeping operations in that continent and is actively involved in maintaining and building peace in Somalia, Mozambique, Angola, Liberia, Rwanda and Burundi.

The efforts of the United Nations in Africa should be based on a twofold and consolidated strategy. They should be directed not only to maintaining peace, but also to accelerating sustained economic development, through which the major causes of continued armed conflicts may be defused.

Indeed, the root causes of conflict require new global commitments. In full agreement with the Secretary-General, my Government subscribes to the view that it is time to balance the old commitment to territorial security with a new commitment to human security; to shift from providing security through arms to ensuring security through development.

The end of the cold war has also ended the compartmentalization of major components, such as political security and social issues. It is now mostly recognized that security cannot be viewed in political and military terms alone, and that peace and prosperity are indivisible.

At a time when disorder and disintegration, both at national and international levels, seem fated to increase, the concept of crisis prevention needs to be elaborated and expanded.

We strongly endorse the view that peace, development and democracy are interrelated and mutually reinforcing. We all recognize the pressing need to promote a new culture of development. The United Nations new agenda for development must bring sustainable and people-centred development to the forefront. For this, a stronger role for the United Nations is needed.

Democracy is the underlying imperative for human security, social integration and good governance. Indeed, during the Vienna Conference last year, the international community reiterated its commitment to the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms and to the common struggle against racism, xenophobia and intolerance. Today a pluralistic civil society, free and fair elections, and the rule of law are defined as the common goals of humanity. Dialogue between different cultures can only be achieved within the context of democracy.

Violence and terrorism could not, and should not, be justified under any circumstances. In this spirit, the General Assembly in its resolution 48/122 reaffirmed the Vienna Declaration and described terrorism as an activity which aims at the destruction of human rights, fundamental freedoms and democracy, as well as threatening the territorial integrity and security of States, destabilizing legitimately constituted Governments, undermining pluralistic civil society and having adverse consequences on the economic and social development of States. We call upon the international community to stand by its commitments and to take the necessary steps to combat and eradicate terrorism.

Lack of tolerance is the underlying cause of various conflicts which constitute the most important threat to international peace and security. Therefore, promotion of a culture of tolerance has a direct bearing on crisis prevention. We should inject the spirit of tolerance into the young generations.

It is a pleasure for me to recall here that on Turkey's initiative, the General Assembly last December proclaimed 1995 as the United Nations Year for Tolerance. By the terms of resolution 48/126, the entire United Nations system has been asked to contribute to its successful observance. Its celebration will contribute to the acceleration of efforts to prevent all forms of racism, discrimination, fanaticism and fundamentalism.

Disarmament should also be seen within the context of preventive diplomacy. We must recognize the fact that the end of the cold war has not removed the danger of nuclear weapons. On the contrary, in some cases the danger has actually increased. Hence, another field where progress is needed is the prevention of nuclear proliferation. As we prepare for the Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which will be convened next year, the creation of a climate of confidence will be vital. Measures need to be taken now to create that climate.

In the same vein, we hold the view that full compliance with existing arms control and disarmament instruments at regional and global levels is of primary importance.

As the Secretary-General has rightly stated, the children's Summit in 1990, the Earth Summit in 1992, the human rights Conference in 1993, the population Conference in September 1994, the social development Summit in March 1995 and the women's Conference to be held in September 1995 are all linked. By 1995, in time for the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, we should reach a global consensus on the way forward to new commitments towards building a better world.

To complete the agenda, we must also add to these major events the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II), which will be held in June 1996 in Istanbul. In this context, we welcome the Secretary-General's call to declare the Habitat II Conference as the "City Summit" to increase world awareness on this subject and to commit the world's leaders to making our cities, towns and villages healthy, safe, just and sustainable. High-level participation in this Conference will ensure its success.

We will commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Organization next year. It is the most opportune time, on the threshold of a new millennium, to take stock of what we have achieved, and where we have failed, with a sense of realism and vision. We are obliged to realize the dreams of the founders of the United Nations. We hope that our deliberations will help to generate a new impetus for positive action to this end.

Member States have set their hopes on the United Nations, which reflects diversity united in a common cause. To the extent that it succeeds, we will have a better world for all peoples, and peace, security, democracy, development and prosperity will be enhanced.

This requires cooperative action, which all nations should be engaged in. We have to give full scope to our imagination to keep pace with the winds of change and strive for the realization of the shared dreams of humankind. If we fail, future generations will pay dearly for our mistakes. I am convinced that after all the bitter experiences of the past, humanity has the cumulative wisdom not to make such mistakes.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.